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OF BOOKS

ENGAGING THE MIND

TheGuardian Weeky

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THE THE PARTY OF T

tak ending September 13, 1998

Yeltsin faces a dilemma after a defiant Russian parliament again rejects Viktor Chernomyrdin as prime minister USSIA was at the mercy of deepening economic chaos dissolution of the Duma and

is the state Duna on Monday refused for a second time to confirm the acting prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, daring President Boris Yeltsin te back down or charge forward

fresh elections, likely to produce an even more hostile parliament to him. Or Mr Yeltsin could submit a new candidate, most likely Moscow's mayor Yuri Luzhkov, whom the left-patriot bloc in the Duma say they would support.

Unfettered capital spells global doom

COMMENT John Gray

BILL CLINTON and Tony Blair are insisting that Russia and Asia press on with post-Asia press on with market re-Some They have not understood that conomic meltdown in these countics is chiefly a result of anarchy in shal markets. Their incomprehensin bodes ill for the world, and for therown political futures.

kussia is undergoing its second ronomic collapse in less than a cade. Since Yeltsin's market rerms began in 1991, production his halved. At least a half of what remins occurs in a barter economy. eas of millions of people scarcely

use money at all.

Much of the population, including that in cities, survives only by growing its own food. After years of "economic modernisation", driven on by releatless pressure from the West, Russia has been reduced to a lugely pre-modern, subsistence

uring cannot be rescued from collapse without protection from world markets and curbs on the mobility of capital. By vetoing such mea-sures, the West has made a second change of regime in Russia more likely, and ensured that any government that emerges from the current hadow-play in the Kremlin will be one in which anti-Western parties cupy a pivotal position.

By comparison with deepening fiation in Japan, Russia's collapse economically speaking — in-guilleant. Yet Western policies to-

wards Japan have been bungling and habristic, Japan has been told it must fight deflation by adopting Keynesian policies. But cutting taxes and increasing public spending will not kick-start the Japanese economy. It will merely increase sav-

Western governments have not noticed that, when interest rates are near rock-bottom, confidence has evaporated and capital is free to move anywhere in the world, such policies have as much effect — as Keynes himself put it - as pushing on a piece of string. Under Western pressure, Japan has given up many of the controls it had on the eco nomy. It may now have no alterna tive to engineering an inflation. On the surface, China's economy

looks in healthier shape than Japan's. Protected by its consistent well-founded contempt for Western advice, the Chinese government has retained control of the commanding heights. By spurning the West's demands for economic liber alisation it has been able to insulate the country from the worst effects of the depression that has struck its neighbours. Despite that, deflation is gaining hold. China's government will do anything it can to stave off spiralling unemployment and pre-vent the country following Indo-nesia and Russia into political chaos. Sooner or later, it will be forced to devalue the currency. At that point, if not before, the yen is likely also to go into free-fall.

All the conditions are already in

ngs and the flow of money abroad.

continued on page 4

Moscow tastes bitter fruit of rouble's collapse

Tom Whitehouse in Moscow

A OST of Russia's former vas-VI sal states are represented on Elshan's roadside food stall in central Moscow. There are tomatoes and aubergines from his native Azerbaijan, melons from Uzbekistan, walnuts from Kyrgyzstan and peaches from Moldova. And from Russia?

"Russia has rich soil but produces nothing because nobody wants to work, and everyone steals from each other," said Elshan. "These potatoes are Russian, but, look, they're rot-

Russia's financial collapse ba cruelly exposed its failing agri-

Imported non-perishable goods — such as vegetable oil, pasta and sait — make up be-

tween 60 and 65 per cent of the food products sold in Russia, and up to 85 per cent of those in Moscow. They have been the first to disappear from the shelves as people start hoarding for winter. There is no immediate prospect of them being replaced.

Russian companies have stopped buying food abroad. With the rouble still tumbling, is more profitable to keep any hard currency they did not lose in the banks, rather than spend it.
Meanwhile foreign exporters
are cancelling food deliveries because they will not accept pay-

Now, even the succulent fruits of the former Soviet Union are in

short supply. "Farmers in Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan do not want to sell their produce for roubles any

more, because roubles are worthless," said Eishan, "But as long as Russians don't mind eating rotten potatoes, they shouldn't starve,"

The security council secretary, Alexander Kokoshin, tried to reassure people that there was "no danger of a famine" because, as well as the potatoes, there is 18 million tonnes of grain from last year's harvest still in stock.

But since it comes only a month after promises that the rouble would not be devalued, ordinary Russians are not con-

The harvest is down 48.2 per cent on last year. In the far east, the food situation is already officially described as "dangerous"

Comment, page 12 Washington Post, page 16

Murdoch reaches for the red stars

uardian Reportera

THE biggest takeover deal in football history, which could read in the world's most powerful. nodia magnate taking control of the hork's richest football club, is to be westigated by Britain's Office of fair Trading, amid fears of a breach of competition law.

The £575 million (\$960 million) id by Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB for lightheaster United would give the delile TV company an iron grip on All lucrative broadcasting rights to it risks losing the support of the deal came as Comment, page 12.

Manchester United and BSkyB

akeover deal is expected this week. The UK Trade and Industry Sec retary, Peter Mandelson, promised a scrupulous inquiry, as angry Labour MPs and disgruntled football fans called for the deal to be referred to

the Monopolies Commission. Ministers are privately unhappy at having been pushed into a cleft atick: if the Government approves the deal, it risks allenating a sub-

have confirmed that they are in E123 million added to the club's value. The drama of the takeove has been heightened with rumour of rival bids from other broadcasters Britain's sports minister, Tony

Banks, said a monopoly inquir could be warranted, while footba

supporter groups claimed that the country's biggest broadcaster of football would have an unfair advantage If it also owned the biggest club BSkyB has the rights to televise al Premier Lesgue games till the end of 2001, in a deal worth £64? million.

Leaders agree Congo ceasefire

cane slaves Sorrow but no

Halti's sugar

pity for Clinton Call to trim

oyalty's role Man tearing up

map of creation

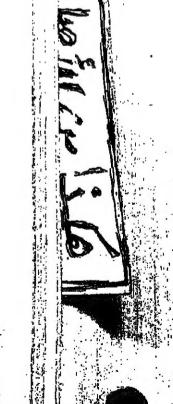
23

3 | Next week... *LE MONDE*' diplomatique

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☐ the Sudanese factory reduced to rubble was in fact manufacturing VX gas; Q the US had the authority under

international law, or principles of morality, to take unilateral action against anyone it suspected of acting against its interests.

It is obvious to one living in the belly of the beast that this superpower has arrogated to itself the role of judge, jury and executioner in dealing with any group that op-poses American domination and ex-

Going by the US government's

☐ Cuba would be justified in bombing areas of Florida that harbour Cuban exiles who have openly plotted to overthrow its government, and even blown up a Cuban airliner

Q Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras. Guatemala and Panama would find legitimacy in destroying the School of the Americas in the state of Georgia that has trained death squads responsible for thousands of casualties

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■ THINK it should be clear now, if ever, after the massive bombing their rights to target for destruction their rights to target for destruction Israel's biochemical and nuclear

> Weapons of mass destruction are not just the obvious ones aimed at the immediate extinction of life. They are just as much the inhuman sanctions maintained by US and British pressure on the United Nations against the people of Iraq that has led to the untimely death of more than a million children since the end of the Gulf war. Dr Sadanand Nanjundiah

Central Connecticut State University, New Britain, Connecticut, USA

THE American press does no point out that in one day of firing missiles the United States spent about one-and-a-half times the cost of four years of Kenneth Starr's investigation of Whitewater, Travelgate, misplaced FBI files, fellatory adventures, etc.

There is the naive belief that exerminating a few terrorists will resolve the confrontation of the Muslim and post-Christian worlds, yet terrorism is begotten when all peaceful means appear hopeless.

If the further colonisation of the West Bank were ceased and the Oslo accords revived, if the Americans who shot down the civilian Iranian airplane in the Gulf (when we were allies of Saddam Hussein) were tried for their crime as well as the avengers who shot down the airplane over Lockerble, if Iraq had a lope of regaining sovereignty, the call for terror would grow dim. In this context note the nearly complete end of terror in Ulster.

Leominster, Massachusetts, USA

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Don't shoot the aid givers

WE cannot agree with Kevin Toolis (Africa's famine is very big business, September 6) that the relief effort exacerbates the suffering of the Sudanese people. Hundreds of thousands of people in south Sudan have been, and will be, saved by the aid delivered to them.

There is no credible evidence that the war in Sudan - over more issues than just religion - would end if humanitarian ald were suspended. There are serious challenges to the delivery of aid in conflict, as Mr Toolis points out, but he does not take proper account of the work that Oxfam and other responsible aid agencies have been doing for many years to assess the net benefit of our humanitarian aid programmes in Sudan and in other

Where Oxfam delivers aid in emergency situations, we also seek to address the root causes of the problem. In Sudan, Oxfam and other agencies have appealed for serious political engagement to end the war. Oxfam has been lobbying the UK government to play a more proactive role in seeking a political solution ever since we mounted an emergency response in southern Sudan in the 1980s.

Providing relief to starving people, striving to ensure that the relief reaches the people who need it and pressing the international community to find peace seems the most David Bryer

KEVIN TOOLIS, in his thought-ful analysis of a very difficult and emotionally charged issue, brings to light a key problem sur-rounding aid and development. His suggestion that non-governmental organisations are part of the problem rather than the solution — that is a question of "institutional surival" — agrees with my own experience as a volunteer with a Canadian

NGO in Indonesia and Vietnam. Over a three-year period with this organisation, my husband and l found that contrary to its mission statements and glossy promotional publications, the NGO did not care about the people it was claiming to help. Nor was it concerned about carrying out the tasks stated in reports to the Canadian donors, Instead, it was more concerned with increasing its numbers, not only to justify its existence but also to en-

sure its continuity.

By accomplishing in reality what it claimed in theory, the NGO would simply be working toward its own denise. That is not good business sense and, as our regional director often told us, "Development? It's just another business." Saira Fitzgerald, Ottowa, Ontario, Canada

NZ voting system sound

IT WOULD be a mistake for New Zealanders to reject their new electoral system — mixed member proportional (MMP) - because it ias resulted, first time around, in a collapsed government. The discredited coalition brought together two discreditable leaders, with nothing common but naked ambition. Hove, East Sussex Jenny Shipley — a woman who i

makes Margaret Thatcher look like Mother Teresa - seized the leader ship of the National party by chi-canery, organising an internal coup in the absence of the then prime

Winston Peters, in order to be come her coalition partner, burned almost every plank of his Kew Zealand First party's platform, including a vow that he would never work with National.

Far from proving that there is some fatal flaw to MMP, the auto destruction of this pair of strident egotists suggests that the system has a built-in fail-safe. It is reasonable to expect that the lesson will not be lost on future MMP governments. Paul Winstauley, Palmerston North, New Zealand

Russia needs a breathing space

WE ARE witnessing the last stage of an extraordinary progression in Russia. Within one century feudalism, communism and capitalism have all collapsed -- the demise of the first two causing worldwide upheaval. Despite an educated and creative

people and huge amounts of natural resources, any value created by these is being drained away through both official financial channels and the black market. The Western bankers must give the Russian economy breathing space. It's people must be allowed to retain the value they create by the suspension of interest payments on current loans, and by limiting the international tradeability of the rouble and the use of the dollar in their

This will allow them to make use of local production networks and barter, so that monetary transactions benefit those whose labou and skills create them.

That this model would also be popular in the West may be the reason bankers won't wear it. Our leaders must show the way out of this mess. (Dr) Diarmid Weir,

WHEN President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher led the refusal of help to Mikhail Gorbachev, at a summit meeting some years ago, a Swedish diplomat faced the television cameras and said that "the West will come to rue this day". He seemed quite ill from the shock at the enormity of it. What was behind this foolhardy decision to deny Gor bachev aid for Russia?

It was a humiliating end to his tenure as a leader and of a sanely guided course for Russia. Why did no one pay attention then? Everyone could have been saved from the present unholy mess. It did not suit some nations for Russia to be revived, but why do the Europeans not think for themselves? Marina Grut,

OMMUNISM and capitalism

have both failed the Russian people miserably, and now it seems that Russia is in danger of sinking Could the co-operative movement in the West, which is based on firm democratic principles, be of help in establishing Russia as the world's

first democratic co-operative state?

(Rev) John Webster.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY September 13 1995

Briefly

∧ TTHE end of a week of plug ing stock markets, and coo cerns over the value of my mutual funds, Tom Stoddard's photograph of the starving Sudanese child and the rich man (August 23) broughts dreadful sense of guilt, shame and despair to me.

The expression on the ch face still leaves me wondering what the child is thinking. This bothers me tremendously. I have been exposed to many similar photographs, but this time Tom has managed to capture something very profound Congratulations would be inappropriate, but my mutual fund anxieties are of much less concern to me

Malcolm Farren. Vancouver, BC, Canada

IAM amazed that no organisation with an interest in road safety by attempted to capitalise on the fat that Princess Diana's bodyguad survived the collision in the tunal n Paris because he was wearing his 🖁 seat belt, while the princess and her companion. Dedi Fayed, who wernot wearing belts, died as a result of their injuries.

A positive "belt up" messag would be, I believe, the most appropriate way of remembering this oung woman. Michael Bowen. Thatham, Berks

RITICS of the new measure allow a policeman's opinion. ut supported by any evidence to be sufficient to convict have missed a clear advantage to the many victims f miscarriage of justice in the past

framed by the police, but the new system would mean there was no need to beat them first to extract a confession. Garry Allen

Brighton, East Sussex

/N "Gays get a bashing" (Augus 16) Martin Kettle wrote that Ius embourg (440,000 inhabitants) vai the smallest country in Europe. What about Monaco, Liechter

stein, Andorra, San Marino and th Arthur Biewer,

MAYBE O I Simpson was available to speak at it Guardian International Televisi Festival (September 6). The spect cle of a woman convicted of th manslaughter of an eight-months child being invited to contribute the debate was distasteful to say !



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Ceasefire in Congo 'agreed'

Andrew Meldrum in Victoria Falls

ONGOLESE rebel leaders and forces supporting the government of President rent Kabila reached a breakthrough in peace talks on Monday, according to the Zambian president, Freerick Chiluba, chairman of a

sixcountry African summit. He refused to give details and would not comment on whether a caselire had been agreed, but said there was a deal. "All of us have agreed," he said. One of the negotiators told Reuters

sews agency that the draft agreement proposed an immediate ceasefire and a troop standstill, then further taks to reach a lasting settlement. Zanbabwe's president, Robert Mugabe, who called the summit and

who has aircraft and 3,000 troops in Congo in support of Mr Kabila, left broadly and holding hands with Congo's leader. Other participants said the agreement was satisfactory.

The two presidents were joined in Victoria Falls by presidents Sam Nujoma of Namibia and Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, whose roops are also supporting Mr Kabila. On the other side were the presidents of Uganda and Rwanda. who are supporting the rebels.
Mr Chiluba said all the parties had

emained in the talks until agreement was reached, discounting re ports that the rebels had left early. The rebels, who were excluded

from meeting face-to-face with the heads of state, had threatened not to attend, saying Zimbabwe was not neutral ground. As a compromise

the talks were chaired by the Zamblan president, who has not taken sides in the conflict. Unlike the red-carpet treatment

given the presidents, the rebels had to go through standard customs and immigration procedures when they arrived in Zimbabwe, and then had to telephone for transport to the conference hotel. In the six-member rebel delega-

tion was Bizima Karaha, Mr Kabila's former foreign minister, who defected to the rebel side last month, complaining of the Congo leader's lack of respect for democracy.

Uganda and Rwanda were especially anxious for a ceasefire and the return of prisoners. They have reportedly had large numbers of their troops captured in western Congo.

The next issue will be the with-

but most difficult question is how to The South African president, Nelson Mandela, has called for quick multiparty elections and a govern-

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 3

The Week

🏲 HE ruling Malta Labour

less than two years after taking

office. The leader of the victori-

ous Nationalist party, Eddie Fenech Adami, is committed to

AKISTAN, firmly in the grip of Islamic tensions, severe

economic crisis and lack of con-

fidence in the country's leaders,

was reported to be teetering on

the brink of a military coup.

B URMA'S main opposition party, the National League

for Democracy, said that the mil-

itary government had detained

110 of its members to thwart its

OLICE seized cocaine worth

from a Spanish-registered cata-

Co Cork, making it the biggest drugs haul in Irish history.

maran when it arrived at Kinsale,

WO US air force helicopters

to be using night-vision goggles, crashed in the Nevada desert

during a training exercise. All

12 people aboard were killed.

ORE than 100 people were arrested in 12 countries as

police acted against the Wonder-

land Club, described as one of

the world's most sophisticated

internet paedophile rings.

whose crews were believed

an estimated \$165 million

plan to convene a "People's Parliament" this month.

to join the European Union.

putting the island back on course

party was swept from power

ment of national unity. · Scores of Tutsi civilians have been killed by government troops Congo's third largest city, rebel eaders and witnesses said.

Residents of the northeastern city of Kisangani said the killing began nimediately after Tutsi-led rebels in the east of the country launched their revolt against President Kabila on August 2.

"There are several mass graves and people have told us they saw many bodies thrown into the river, said a senior rebel official, Kambale

Officials showed journalists two graves with an estimated corpses, mostly men allegedly shot by Mr Kabila's army before Kisandrawal of all foreign forces. The last | gani fell to the rebels on August 23.

> OME 2,000 students Omassed outside Indonesia's parliament on Monday to demand President B J Habibie's resignation, after tearing down the compound's gates, writes John Aglionby in Jakarta.

After a tense standoff, hundreds of riot police and troops on guard behind the gates allowed 2,000 students to advance about 20 metres into the sprawling grounds, before blocking their way to the parliament building with a heavy cordon of riot shields.

Chanting anti-government slogans, the students demanded that Mr Habibie should resign because of his handling of the eco-

After darkness fell most of the students dispersed, but about 300 remained, singing patriotic songs, faced by hundreds of troops. PHOTOGRAPH: ENLY NURAHENI

A NTOINE LAHD, the leader of the israeli milita the South Lebanon Army, freed Soha Bishara, a Lebanese woman who had spent 10 years in prison for shooting him in an assassination attempt.

RANCE'S interior minister. Jean-Pierre Chevénement, who is in a come after suffering a heart attack during surgery, was said to be improving.

O FFICIALS from 33 countries stretching from elgium to Japan met in the Azeri capital, Baku, to give a recreate the historic Silk Road linking Europe with Asia,

Afreed by kidnappers after being held hostage for nine months. "I was away for 266 days and I counted every one of them," said Alessandra Sgarella.

A US rower, Tori Murden, abandoned her attempt to become the first woman to cross the Atlantic alone.

A KIRA Kurosawa, the Japanese director of master pleces such as Seven Samural and Rashomon, died of a stroke at his home in Tokyo aged 88. Obituary, page 27



Former Rwandan PM gets

Iran rules out strike against Taliban forces in Afghanistan

David Sharrock

HE threat of a war in the Middle East receded last Sunday when lan's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali hamenei, ruled out an invasion of neighbouring Afghanistan.

The systollah; commander-in-

hiel of Iran's 500,000-strong armed forces, said there would be "no conontation with Taliban*, the Tehran ines reported

occuminies since 11 Iranian diplomais were allegedly killed when Talhan lighters overran the Afghan opposition stronghold Mazar-i-

Tehran accuses the Taliban of Kizing 47 Iranians when its forces captured the northern city on Au-1018, but the Taliban militia says it langs nothing about the 11 diplonats and has freed five Iranian buckdrivers.

A member of an Iranian delegawho travelled to Afghanistan as week sald their mission was toly to find and retrieve the remains

the diplomats.

The Tehran Times report was the si account of the ayatollah's rearks, which the newspaper said emade on Thursday last week. he Iranian government is domied by Shia clerics. The Taliban;

The prospect of an Iranian military strike against the Taliban appeared to rise last Saturday when the state-run Tehran radio said Iran had the right under international law to take all action necessary is connection with the diplomats' disappearance.

Iran sent 70,000 troops to its northeast region last week for border. It said the bulk of them would remain in the area.

Hardline conservative publications in Iran support a strike, while from his lawyer for a sentence of just most moderate dailies advocate self-

The Tehran Times dismissed claims that tension on the border could lead to open conflict, "Despite the fact that Iran is quite ready in all respects to meet any eventuality nundits here do not foresee any m tary clash with Taliban," it said: The Taliban militia massacred

thousands of Afghan civilians after capturing Mazar-I-Sharif from opposition forces last month, Amnesty international said last week. Its report quoted the testimonies

of witnesses and survivors who said the victims were mostly from the Shia Hazara community, one of the Shia Hazara community, one of the many ethnic minorities living in the offer a public apology when invited control most of Afghanistan, country's north:

life sentence for genocide

Chris McGreal in Arusha

A N INTERNATIONAL court sentenced the former prime minister of Rwanda to life imprisonment for genocide last week, describing his crimes during the 1994 slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Tutsis as "widespread and atroclous". Jean Kambanda, the first man to

be sentenced under the 1948 Genocide Convention, written in the guilty in May to six counts of genocide and crimes against humanity.

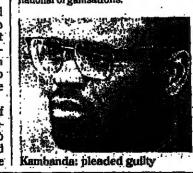
The court brushed aside a plea two years because Kambanda had cooperated with prosecutors immediately after his arrest in Kenya last year, and had agreed to testify against former members of his cabi net and senior army officers awaiting trial by the United Nations tribunal."

The defence said Kambanda, aged 43, wanted to be free to contribute to the "healing process" in Rwanda. But while acknowledging his co-operation, the judges said his participation in "the crime of crimes" was too helnous to impose anything but the maximum sentence.

show sympathy for the victims Kambanda's lawyer said he would appeal against the sentence. With the exception of the de facto army chief Theoneste Bagosora. Kambanda is the most senior official connected to the genocide in the tribunal's custody. Thirty-five people have been indicted by the

court but so far only Kambanda has pleaded guilty.
Earlier last week the tribunal Jean-Paul Akayesu, guilty of various genocide charges and set sentencing for later this month...

people in prison accused of taking part in the massacres, and in April began executing those condemned by its own courts to death by firing squad. The trials and executions have been condemned by international organisations.





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Black CLINTON'S visit to ire-land proved to be a turning point, but not the one for which the president might once have hoped. It was certainly not a turning point in the affairs of Ireland, but it was a turning point in what has now become a battle to save the Clinton presidency in the face of the Lewinsky scandal.

This was not, however, because Clinton said "sorry". In a formal sense the use of that word was new, it is true. But, as any parent knows, when a child finally says sorry the next job is to persuade the child to mean it, and then, most important of all, to be able to say it spontaneously, without nagging. Clinton has not got that far yet.

Nevertheless the Dublin ex-

changes were a turning point, and the person who marked the turn was not Clinton himself but his press spokesman, Mike McCurry. During the course of a tense set of exchanges with reporters following the Clinton "sorry" comment, Mc-Curry said the following words: "I think the president clearly does not believe that one conversation, one statement, one speech, is going to be sufficient in addressing this matter the way he wants to. And he in-tends to keep addressing it both personally and - to the degree he

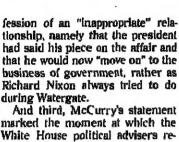
needs to — publicly, as he sees fit." This important statement is a change of policy on several counts. First, it reverses the White House's long-held position that it must mainain silence on the private matter of the Lewinsky relationship. Second, t abandons the pretence that was central to Clinton's August 17 con-

fession of an "inappropriate" rela-tionship, namely that the president had said his piece on the affair and that he would now "move on" to the business of government, rather as Richard Nixon always tried to do

marked the moment at which the took control of Clinton's strategy in the Lewinsky scandal from his lawyers. They did so because Clinton's tenure of office is now genuinely at stake. This has become once again, an overwhelmingly political battle, not a legal one, and Clinton will confront it as often "as he sees fit", to quote McCurry.

The battle to save the Clinton presidency has now been joined This has happened for reasons that were not all widely foreseen. At the heart of the crisis, however trivial one may think that the Lewinsky matter may be, is the president's inability to tell the truth and say sorry when he ought to, a subject that is grippingly addressed at immense length in Professor Stanley Renshon's prescient book, High Hopes: The Clinton Presidency And The Politics Of Ambition, published earlier this year.

Post last week, one Roger Pogge of Hampton, Virginia, put Clinton's problem in a nutshell. In the parts of the president's testimony in the Paula Jones case that have so far been published, Pogge pointed out, Clinton used the words "I don't remember" 71 times, "I don't know" 67 times, "I'm not sure" 17 times, and "I have no idea" 10 times. In fact the transcript contains no fewer than 267 lapses of a presidential memory that is in other respects



that time knew perfectly well who Monica Lewinsky was, what he did with her and where, and she to him. Those 267 lapses of memory, we can safely say, were tactical. Neither in the Jones deposition in January nor in the testimony to Kenneth Starr in August — nor in the pivotal broadcast that followed — did Clin-

ton tell the truth. It was that deep sense of failing to face up to reality that pushed Senator Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut to make the speech in the Senate last week that may come to be seen as the turning point in this affair. As the world now knows, Lieberman is politically a Clintonian

 he is what used to be called a rightwing Democrat, a man who has no intellectual problems tacking to the centre in search of consensus. Unlike Clinton, however, Lieber-

man tacks with the assistance of a

simple and dignified set of judg-ments about Clinton's personal be-haviour that were individually and cumulatively devastating. It was not inappropriate to have the relationship with Lewinsky, he sald, but "immoral". And it was "harmful" because it gave a bad moral lesson to families and children. Clinton had many opportunities to repair the damage, Lieberman said, but he had squandered them.

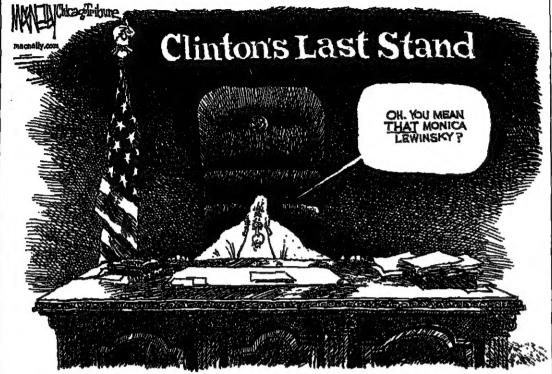
be read carefully and often, and may come to have a certain iconic status in American public life before this whole business is done. Yet for all the carefully judged use of moral language and the threats of Senate censure that it contained, it is possible that its most damaging hit was

working order. That was what made his attack on Clinton so devastating. It was not a political assault, nor partisan, nor based on big policy issues. What Lieberman delivered was a

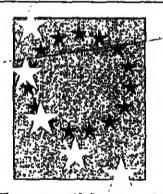
Lieberman's speech deserves to

failed to clearly articulate to the American people that he recognised how algnificant and consequential his wrongdoing was and how badly he felt about it

Clinton's great fault, according to Lieberman, was that he got the August 17 television address badly wrong. It was not his moral failings that have landed him where he i today, but his political misjudg ments in dealing publicly with those failings. Clinton was a great communicator who failed to get the message right. Clinton is not the first man or the first politician with an instinct for not telling the truth. But ters has been a much more public failing - his inability to strike the right note. He has made apology seem merely a tactic.



Asylum rights put through a Viennese grinder selves under the protection of interior ministry and author of the Serblan forces who have been plan. "Most refugees are not these



Europe this week Martin Walker

WHEN the European Commission completed a brisk review of the impact of the Russian crisis last week, it gave itself a pat on the back. The economic effect would be marginal in the short term, since Russia takes less than 4 per cent of European Union trade. Moreover Europe had become a safe haven of stability in which even once wobbly currencies such as the Italian lira and Spanish peseta were now secure

in the armour of the single currency. Nobody in official circles is crass enough to use the phrase "Fortress Europe", although it seems evident that the Europeans and North Americans are hoping that their The plan has been drafted by the woman and children will put them eral for migration in the Austrian opposition can be side-stepped.

has a second context, defined by the looming problem of refugees.
There are now about 300,000

refugees in Kosovo, many of them living in the woods and dreading the coming of winter. In Sicily the new camps built for refugees from North Africa and Albania have already seen serious riots. In Turkey EU officials have begun negotia-tions about EU-financed and Turkish-run camps for refugees from Iraq and elsewhere in the region. And Europe is already looking pernew drift of peoples might be trudging their way this winter from the Russian financial catastrophe.

One of the most sobering developments of the week is that after the humanitarian fatigue that followed the arrival of more than 500,000 refugees from the Bosnian wars. Europe is indeed planning to build moats and walls to keep them out.

Europe is pressing ahead with a plan to transform its current policies on refugees and political asylum, and remove their right to permanent settlement, despite outrage from civil liberties groups and Greens in the European Parliament who say that it means "the end of the Geneva Convention".

two rich white clubs will he epared interior ministry of Austria, current the grief afficieting Asia, Russia and Latin America. But Fortress Europe has met with initial approval in principle by the other member states. I starts from the principle that the Geneva Convention, designed to protect individuals fleeing political persecution, now covers only a

small minority of refugees. The new plan has been designed to meet sudden emergency influxes, such as those from the wars in Bosnia, Kosovo and Kurdistan, and proposes a four-stage policy designed to give short-term and temporary protection. The essential feature - which breaks with the is that it does not give refugees the right to settle in the EU.

The first stage would be to try to handle the emergency—on the ground, either by peace-keeping or through local "safe zones" in the afflicted country. This is what is now being proposed in Kosovo, where the Serblan government is suggesting that the United Nations. charities and NGOs run four humanitarian "hubs", under the eye of Serbian security forces. The International Crisis Group (ICG) tried to warn EU officials at a meeting in the European Parliament last week

was impractical. "It's crazy to think that Kosovar

fathers," said the former United States assistant secretary of state, Morton Abranowitz, a leading figure on the ICG.

The second stage of the Austrian plan would be to keep refugees in the region, if necessary by using EU funds to provide food, medical care and "temporary" refugee camps. (This policy was adopted for Palestinian refugees from Israel in 1948, and the camps are still in place 50 years later.)

The third stage would be, in the worst case, to grant temporary sanc-tuary in an EU country, with all EU member states contributing to the | ment. This looks unlikely, since nelnot include the right to work, nor the right of residence. The fourth stage would be mandatory repatriation of | eral election - want to be seen as the refugees to their homelands as soon as circumstances permit.

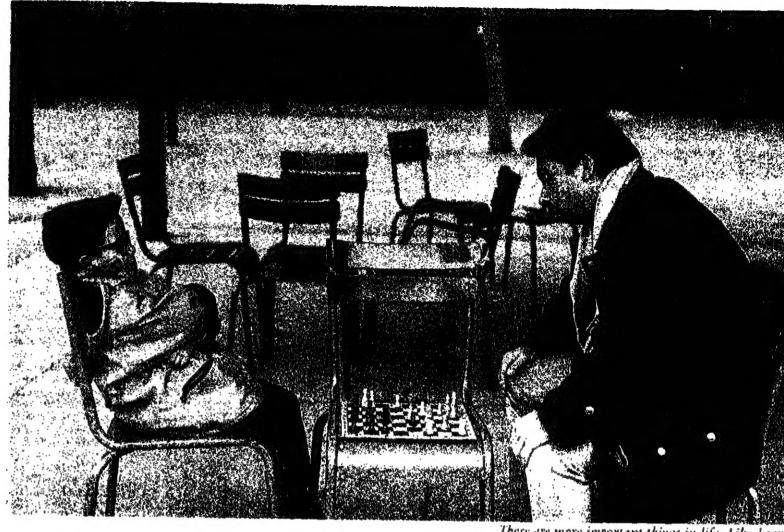
This proposal is an unprece rope's refugees from Bosnia, dented attack on the principles of international law and human rights," said Magda Aelvoet of Belgium, president of the Green group in the European Purliament, "This clearly is in contradiction with the Geneva Convention, which established an individual right for asylum."

cumstances have changed since the national conscience would not permit cold war era of 1951; when the it," said the German Green leader that this would be as wicked as it Geneva Convention was signed," and MEP Claudia Roth. But by mak said Manfred Matzka, director gen- ing it a European policy, this kind of

plan. "Most refugees are not these persecution, but they flee from civil wars like Bosnia, or from violent fundamentalism like Algeria. The Geneva Convention does not give us a proper instrument to deal with this kind of crisis, and we need one. Our proposal does not do away with the Geneva Convention, but rather

The British Home Secretary, Jack Straw, and other EU home affairs ministers are to discuss the Austrian proposal on September 24. The Greens meanwhile are trying to rally support for a declaration against the scheme by the European Partia Democrat MEPs from Germany their eye on the September 27 gen-"soll" on refugees. In Germany, which took more than half of Eurefugees are a divisive political issue in the way that they were in Britain when the Uganda Asians were admitted in the early 1970s.

The worst feature of this is that were such a policy to be tried in any single member state - in Austria or Britain or Germany — the civil liber-"We have to recognise that cir-



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Telephone: daytime/evening . Country Code	Area Code	Number		7.1	115



jaded by

Amelia Gentleman

waif worship

again, this time from within,

has announced her decision to

quit the catwalk in Paris, New

cause she can no longer tolerate

the fashion world's compulsive

worship of the skinny form.

who has witnessed the indus-

try's flaws first hand, have fuel

led the long-running criticism of

a business that promotes must-

tainable and unhealthy kleals as

Described as one of Britain's

modelling success storics, Ms

Thomas, aged 18, already feels

jaded by the international fash-

on world and is rejecting the

chance to earn up to £6,500 a

day in the autumn shows be-

cause of the "ghastly cattle mar-ket". She said: "I had begun to

dislike putting up with the pres-

sure to be thin. People want you

The model, now the "face" of

the cosmetics company Cover

Girl, also said the drink, drug

and eating problems of other

to be skinnier all the time."

the norm.

These views, from someone

York and Milan this year be-

Teacher union welcomes move to a meritocracy

room competence has, surprisingly, been welcomed by the biggest of the teaching unions, the National Union of Teachers, which had been expected to oppose the latest plans by the Education Secretary, David

A green paper is expected shortly, which will aim to reward successful teachers by removing the £23,000 pay ceiling on the main classroom grade for those without additional responsibilities. Mr Blunkett wants to make several hundred million pounds available on top of the normal annual pay rounds, for distribution according to merit, starting in 2000.

A poll by the NUT showed 70 per cent of its 12,000 members to be in favour. Their expectations, however, may not match those of Mr Blunkett. The teachers believe that they should be rewarded for taking training courses or qualifying for promotion, whether or not they take on managerial responsibilities. The Education Secretary has something more sophisticated in mind; meeting performance standards and personal targets, "including those related to pupil performance". The union is adamantly opposed to ideas for linking pay to pupils' perfor-mance, and will vote against it at a special conference this month.

Teachers' unions were united in condemning the "baseline assessments" that are being applied to four- and five-year-olds as they start school this month. They will be tested on whether they can recognise numbers up to 10, recognise letters, write their name, recite at least one nursery rhyme, hold a book the right way up and, perhaps most importantly, sit still for 10 minutes without supervision.

The Government's idea is that the tests will identify children's strengths and weaknesses and assist in "setting" them in groups of similar ability. But teachers argue that setting is inappropriate in primary schools and warn that children could be branded as failures only weeks after starting school if the assessments alone are used to determine their ability.

How children get to school was a matter of concern to the Institute of Child Health which, after 20 years of research, has concluded that those taken by car run an increased risk of obesity and illness in later life. The number of children walking to school has fallen from from 72 per cent to 59 per cent since the a decision in November.

THE IDEA that teachers should he paid according to their classitute, child obesity "could rise to tute, child obesity "could rise to match the United States, where one n five is obese".

> problems" and weak management according to the Health and Safety Executive (HSE), which has made 143 recommendations for improving the plant.

> Fears of radioactive releases led to the shut-down of the plant while the investigations were being carried out, and inspectors say that, because of this, it is "currently safe". No further reprocessing will be carried out, however, without the HSE's consent.

Charles and the late Diana, Princess of Wales, appealed to the nation to allow the memory of their mother to rest in peace. The time had come to

Although Buckingham Palace insisted that the princes' intervention clear that the royal family have been dismayed by some of the stories about the princess's death and hoped that a plea from Diana's children would stop mawkish media reporting of her life. The royals would also like to curb the burgeoning Diana memorabilia industry.

OVING the main evening news bulletin of Independent Television (ITV) from the 10 o'clock slot, which it has occupied for 31 years, to an earlier time of around 6.30-7pm might not seem a particularly momentous change. But ITV's application to do just that brought howls of rage from politicians, though viewers seemed not be unduly worried, perhaps because they can turn instead to the BBC's Nine O'Clock News.

Timing perhaps matters to politicians because most Commons votes are at 10pm, and a programme at that time offers them the best opportunity of being seen to be doing

something. Whether News at Ten is allowed to become News at Six-Thirty will depend on the Independent television Commission, which will take



THE NUCLEAR reprocessing plant at Dounreay, in Caithness, s suffering from "chronic safety

HE PRINCES William and Harry, teenage sons of Prince stop grieving, they said.

was not a rebuke to anvone, it is

Polly Toynbee, page 12

HE Government should use the proposed system of compulsory second pensions to prevent the economy from overheating, the Liberal Democrata proposed last week. The aim would be to force people to raise their minimum monthly pension payments whenever it wants to curb consumer The scheme, requiring employ

Michael White

ees to add a temporary extra 1 or 2 per cent to their pension contributions, would be a valuable tool for chancellors, especially if Britain joins the European single currency. Since people would eventually get back the money they are forced to save, it would be far more popular than raising taxes to curb demand Lib Dem policy thinkers have

The idea emerged, with such con-

Ashdown sets out 'big ideas' party conference in Brighton from | more political distance between September 20-24.

Sarah Thomas: turning away from 'cattle market' PHOTO. CHRIS MOCRE

Mr Ashdown wants his troops to become "pathfinders for political reform", offering Tony Blair a real "third way" option. Central to Lib Dem thinking

about empowering the individual is the adoption of the "public service contract" model created in New Zealand, Ministers and civil servants would agree specific targets of service for the coming year. They would publish it and be held to account for their performance at year's end.

There would be no moving the goalposts, as the Health Secretary, Frank Dobson, had done over hospital waiting lists, Mr Ashdown

Among last week's other new ideas was the Neighbourhood Schools Trust (NST), devised by the party's education spokesman, cepts as the "powerful citizen" and | Don Foster, and his team. It would "public service contract", from a | allow clusters of schools to make a | series of policy reviews ordered by | contract with local authorities to | the left. Far from being an ens Paddy Ashdown shead of what the provide a wider range of school government and promoting power Lib Dem leader last week promised services in a particular community. ful citizens, the Lib Dems would would be a bruising and strenuous | Rejecting the temptation to put | restrict freedom and choice.

himself and New Labour - as many party activists will demand Brighton - Mr Ashdown presented his 113-page policy package. Mor-ing Ahead: Towards A Cliizen Britain, as "moving ahead rather than to the left".

To underline his independ he repeatedly sniped at Mr Blair and his ministers. Right across government they were still shorting the urge to boss people around, he told journalists at Westminster. They love to interfere in

lives. There is a smell of moral at thoritarianism which most Libera Democrats find not very acceptable even offensive at times."

It did not stop the Tories from taunting Mr Ashdown for rechum ing the same old leftwing not sense". In a statement handed out to reporters at Lib Dem HQ by Tory officials, their chairmaneled Michael Ancram, said: "They have always been, and remain, a party of

Union fights for more working-class MPs

ORKING people are being from senior common rooms and legal chambers but from the shop selection procedures in favour of floor or truck drivers' cabs. middle-class professionals, accord- The union, which still harbours ing to one the largest unions in the | grudges over a series of alleged country, which will highlight its snubs at the last general election in concerns at this month's party con- | which its favoured candidates lost

The Amalgamated Engineering seats, is to switch £1 million from that the 725,000-strong union seats, is political fund — currently available to the party and property and pro fourth biggest affiliate, wants to see | able to the Labour party — to spend | ing affiliation fees.

more Labour candidates for the on seeking out and grooming work next general election plucked not ing-class candidates for future elections The move follows months of in

tration within the union's leadership over what it believes is the growing domination of middle-class proks

sionals in the party.

Labour last week played down the AEEU's decision, pointing of the AEEU's decision, pointing week played the AEEU's decision, pointing week played down the AEEU's decision the AEEU's decision

Model quits, Hague gambles on euro showdown

ILLIAM Hague this week embarked on the biggest gamble of his short career Tory leader when he moved to HE fashion industry's obsess wish a damaging challenge at the party conference by announcing a snap ballot of the party's 300,000 sion with abnormally slender physiques has come under fire nembers to win approval of his hardline stance on the European Teenage model Sarah Thomas

> in an altempt to outflank party kayweights such as Kenneth Care and Michael Heseltine, Mr ligue said he would be calling on the membership to endorse the watow cabinet's decision to oppose undary union at the next election.
>
> Mr Hague, who decided to hold te ballot during his summer holi-

NOWNING Street on Sunday

moved swiftly to deny support

proposals from the Govern-

reas favoured think-tank for root-

thanch reform of the monarchy.

abiling the abolition of the auto-

Hic right of succession of the heir

The report from the left-leaning

aktank Demos - headed by

of Mulgan, a member of the

or of recommending abolition of

ic monarchy, but argues "dra-

zic reform is needed if the

dution is to match public

lang its radical measures are

of veto over a new king or

the scrapping of the

Conarch's political powers and the

Ming of the role of the sovereign supreme governor of the Church England.

hough the report comes after

total family has signalled a cau-

willingness to modernise,

Street moved to make

that its vision of a "people's

Denos recommendations. A

outhy does not come near the

Meman said: "The report has

whing to do with the Government and does not reflect Government

No one in the Government

lory sources disagreed, suggest-

labour connections, was voicing

of the fivore should be about the

house /pht of veto over a new

The monerch should not eutio

Poyals should receive states echical-

and be treated on the NI-18

about be head of the Church of

The monarch should become a row in ambassacor to hear bitterness abut British a past around the wight the Speaker of the Continons the responsibility for appointing time Minister and displacements.

Prime Minister and dissolving

hing Bills to become law ensuits.

The need for Floyel Assent

A mingler of kaptice should take

Foreblity for appointing judgment in a Royal Household should be

The Monarchy service run Office

Demos, with its close New

sinvolved in drawing it up."

labour wary of proposals

reform the monarchy

day, acted after reports that the for-mer chancellor and deputy prime minister were planning to challenge his European policy at fringe meetings at next month's conference in At a press conference at Conserv-

ative Central Office, Mr Hague said that the party could not look to the future until it has dealt "with one last part of the legacy of the past", Watched by senior members of the shadow cabinet, he said: "As long as our party is distracted by endless debates on the single currency we will always have one hand tied behind our backs. I want to free everyone in the party, whatever their views on the single currency, to fight this Government with both hands and provide an alternative."

"what Tony Blair thinks but can't

say". The report could add to re-

sentment among some within or

close to Buckingham Palace, who believe that the New Labour estab-

lishment is trying to bounce the

Liam Fox, the Conservative

constitutional affairs spokesman.

suggested the report's recom-

mendations that the royal family

National Health Service reflected

efforts to "entrench centre-left New

He claimed details of plans by the

Chancellor, Gordon Brown, to cut

back the royal family's annual fund-

ing increase by two-thirds to a fig-

ure in line with the Government's

inflation target was further evidence

of Labour support for the "back-

door republicanism which Demos

Treasury sources confirmed that

the next 10-year deal over the

monarchy's government funding,

due in 2001, was expected to be sig-

nificantly lower than the current an-

nual 7.5 per cent annual increase,

Buckingham Palace offered a

guarded acknowledgement of the report's conclusions. A spokes-woman said: "Whilst we will read

the report with interest, any issues

of constitutional reform would be a

The Queen will be briefed on the

report, and its findings studied by

the Way Ahead Group — the infor-

mal committee of senior members

of the Royal Family and their advis-

ers. The group has already

sure to modernise with an agree-

ment to reduce the number of

royals permitted to adopt the HRH

title. Other attempts to portray a

monarchy more in touch with the

people have seen the Queen visiting

a pub and being photographed outside McDonald's, while Prince

Charles posed with the Spice Girls.

Demos hailed an opinion poll

published in last week's Indepen-

dent on Sunday as evidence of pub-

lic support for reform. The Mori

poll (ound 60 per cent of people thought, the monarchy should be

modernised, while 49 per cent be

lieved the Queen should relinquish

her political role, including the right

to dissolve parliament.

Polly Toynbee, page 12

responded to Downing Street pres

matter for Parliament to decide."

agreed under the last Conservative

represents".

government.

Labour ideas into our institutions".

should use state schools and the

royal family into hasty reform.

cent of members to have any credibility - immediately laid bare the deep divisions over Europe. Within ninutes. Mr Clarke dismissed the ballot, while Michael Portillo, the former defence secretary, hailed the move as "courageous and straightforward".

Ballot papers will be sent to the party's estimated 300,000 members on September 21, to allow counting before the conference opens on October 6. Leaflets explaining the pro and anti sides will be enclosed.

Mr Hague planned to begin a nationwide campaign for a Yes vote with a speech in London on Wednesday. In speeches in Eng-land, Scotland and Wales he will

Mr Hague's gamble — which will | appeal to party unity by presenting need the support of at least 60 per | the ballot as designed to heal wounds. On Monday he said grassroots members were "sick and tired" of the way the rival factions

Labour and the Liberal Democrats said the ballot highlighted Tory divisions over Europe, Labour accused Mr Hague of panicking shead of the party conference. A spokesman said: "If he wishes to lock himself into a position based on dogma rather than the national interest, then the Tories will be the

Malcolm Bruce, the Liberal Democrats' Treasury spokesman, said the move showed the Tories were "still at war", and Mr Hague was trying to "marginalise" his critics.

Alarm grows at BSE link to sheep

James Meikle

THE Government and European Union were trying to shore up consumer confidence in lamb this week as scientists in Britain and abroad prepared further investigations into possible links between BSE and sheep.

A senior government adviser, Jeffrey Almond, urged the Government to start testing sheep as a "matter of urgency", adding: "I think there is a distinct possibility that BSE is out there in the sheep population." Prof Almond said i would be a "national emergency" i

The chief medical officer, Si Kenneth Calman, and officials for the European Commission in Brussels said on Monday that there was no new evidence of a health risk, but they promised to review all available information.

The Scientific Steering Committee of the EU is to meet later this month to discuss again whether high-risk parts of sheep should be banned from the food chain — but Britain has already unilatorally intruduced controls.

The National Farmers' Union president, Ben Gill, shrugged off a suggestion by the Consumers' Association that parents might not want to introduce their young children to lamb while doubts remain. He said: "Not a single case of BSE in sheep has been identified in commercial flocks. Scaremongering helps no one. It is in all of our interests that we listen to the facts."

The heads and spleens of all sheep and goats and spinal cord of all animals over a year old have had to be removed in Britain since January, but most sheep meat eaten in Britain is of animals under a year old. EU-wide proposals by the Commission in 1996 were not adopted elsewhere, and these are likely to be revisited by the scien tific committee, since Franz Fischler, the Agriculture Commissioner, will be resubmitting the proposals. There was no indication on Monday that Britain would face tougher rules without more evidence of risk.

There is no evidence of a health risk from BSE in sheep," said a Commission spokesman, "However, we cannot exclude it. It is better to be safe than sorry."

The Government's Spongiform **Encephalopathy Advisory Commit**tee (Seac) has advised more research into the possible link but said no further action is needed at present. Prof Almond, chairman of Seac's sheep sub-committee, said on BBC Radio that politicians "would have to live with the possibility that. if they went down the road of stopping the consumption of sheep meat, 40 million animals would be destroyed, a whole industry collapsing, and the consequent cost to the nation of that. To do nothing would be inappropriate, while to ban lamb would be ridiculous".

Prof Almond said only nine sheen have so far been tested for BSE "Those tests take about two years to run each, and each costs £30,000 so. yes, we have to do more. But the priority in the early 1990s was not to focus on the sheep issue, it was to find out more about the cattle issue and whether that was going to pose a risk to humans."



Airbus's Super Transporter was the star of this week's Farnborough Air Show. The whale-like 'Beluga' ferries UK-made Airbus wings to the European consortium's Toulouse assembly line, currently handling a record number of orders. Full story, page 19

PHOTO: MARK CHALLONER

set alight, but officers assumed he had tried to commit suicide.

from him and did not seal off the

scene for 12 hours, losing valu-

able time in the search for foren-

sic evidence and witnesses. Four

Scotland Yard said an internal

review had resulted in four offi-

cers being "advised", but not disciplined, about their actions.

Instructions on tightened proce-

dures for "critical incidents"

have been circulated to all offi-

In a letter sent to Mr Tachie:

Menson's family, John Townsend

sioner, said his officers' actions

in the first 12 hours after the in-

cident were "not as thorough" as

a deputy assistant commis-

Staff at North Middlesex

Hospital relayed the victim's

"However, it was not acted

claim that he had been attacked.

he would have wished. .

They never took a statement

gation was launched.

cers in London.

upon," he said.

Police accused of botching inquiry into 'race murder'

Flory Carroll

A BOTCHED Metropolitan police investigation into the suspected racist murder of a black man found burning in a London street has unleashed re

ls due to question detectives over a litany of blunders that could prevent four white youths suspected of killing Michael Tachie-

Yard admitted senior officers made fundamental errors which could doom the investigation.

Mr Tachie-Menson, aged 30, died two weeks after being found staggering on the North Circular Road in Edmonton, north

He told hospital staff and relatives he had been attacked and

petence and prejudice riddle the force — despite promises not to repeat mistakes exposed by the Stephen Lawrence inquiry.

A coroner's inquest this week Menson ever being caught. In a letter to his family, Scotland

London, in January last year.

W 1

ENNETH Noye will fight moves to extradite him to Britain in connection with the M25 road rage murder of Stephen Cameron, on the grounds that the publicity about the case over the past two years meant he could not receive a fair trial, his solicitor said.

A MAN who was extradited from the Netherlands appeared before a special crim court in Dublin, charged with the murder of investigative journalist Veronica Guerin, Brian Meeban, aged 33, was flown back after losing a 10-month legal battle against extradition.

A TRANSSEXUAL pilot, Kristina Sheffield, aged 52, was awarded more than £77,000 by a tribunal which ruled that Air Foyle had discriminated against her.

A DRUNK passenger who kicked, butted and bit British Airways crew during a flight, forcing the pilot to make an emergency landing, was jailed for 15 months. Isleworth crown court heard that Elizabeth Elliott, aged 24, jammed one of the BA hostesses against a trolley when she was refused a drink.

ONY Blair promised extra pay for a new generation of "supernurses", to reward experienced staff who stay in patient cure rather than seeking management roles in order to break through the pay ceiling.

A FATHER and son and two lifehoatmen sent to rescue them were winched to safety after spending more than five hours in a storm-battered sea cave on the Cornish coast.

S ECONDARY school heads warned of a generation of "Spice babies" born to teenagers who opt for motherhood after being branded academic failures The warning follows the recent announcement that two of the Spice Girls group are expecting babies, triggering fears of copycut pregnancies among impressionable fans.

S IR Gordon Newton, one of the great newspaper editors of the 20th century, has died, aged 90. Over 22 years be transformed the Financial Times from a City of London sheet, with a daily circulation of 50,000, into an international

newspaper. Lord Rothermere, last of the Fleet Street newspaper barons, has died, aged 73.

Adams concedes that the war is over

John Mullin

ERRY ADAMS, the president of Sinn Fein, last week marked a new era in Northern treland politics when he effecfively conceded that the 30-year war mounted by republican terrorists was at an end.

Tony Blair, the Northern Ireland Secretary Mo Mowlam, and the Ulster Unionists hailed the move, and there were indications in Belfast that the IRA was on the brink of beginning to decommission its arsenal of weapons.
Sinn Fein followed up Mr

Adams's speech by announcing that Martin McGuinness, its chief negotiator, would liaise between the IRA and the International Body on Decommissioning.

The move came just ahead of Bill Clinton's three-day visit to Ireland, during which he visited Belfast and Omagh, where the Real IRA's murder of 29 people in a bomb attack last month has acted as a sour for political progress.

Northern Ireland's political leaders met at Stormont on Monday to try to agree more progress before the 108-seat assembly reconvenes next week. David Trimble, First Minister and Ulster Unionist leader. was forced to address Mr Adams for the first time.

Decommissioning of weapons was the only contentious issue at a meeting described by Deputy First Miniater Seamus Mallon as "very

Mr Trimble had said last Sunday that he would refuse to shake Mr Adams's hand, because "when he holds forward his hand, it's got two tonnes of Semtex, 600 AK 47 rifles and God knows what else in it".

Although decommissioning of weapons is not a precondition of joining the 12-member power-shar-ing executive, Mr Trimble intends



President Clinton meets well-wishers during a visit to Omagh, the scene of last month's bomb attack, a part of a three-day tour of Ireland which ended last Saturday

to maintain a tough line before he will agree to Sinn Fein taking up its two places on the shadow executive, which will be formed before Northern Ireland functions are devolved to it in February.

If Mr Trimble allows Sinn Fein into the shadow cabinet on the strength of Mr Adams's declaration last week, the move would infuriate Unionist hardliners and may lead to a split in the largest unionist party.

In his statement last week Mr Adams said: "Sinn Fein believe the violence we have seen must be for all of us a thing of the past, over, done with and gone." Everyone should work politically to make sure the "appalling" Omagh bombing was "the last violent incident in our country", Mr Adams added.

Sinn Fein was committed to ex- that the so-called war was over. clusively peaceful and democratic

means. It was committed to making | leader of the Democratic Unionist conflict a thing of the past. "There is shared responsibility to removing the causes and to achieving an end to all conflict," he said.

Mr Adams stopped short of using the term: "The war is over." But its thrust was clear, and makes an IRA return to violence inconceivable.

Downing Street called the state ment "significant and welcome". Mr Blair said that the statement should help build confidence and break down mistrust. The Omagh bomb had pulled communities together. the opposite of what the bombers

John Hume, the SDLP leader, said he hoped that the statement would lead to direct talks between all political parties. He said it meant

reading.
Ministers again insisted there

was a "clear and present danger"

not only in relation to Northern

ireland but in light of the Islamic

bombing atrocities in Africa. But

Lord Holme insisted: "The timing is

disreputable. It is as if the Home

thing through in populist haste

which really requires careful consid-

The former Ulster Unionis

leader Lord Molyneaux of Killead

(Ind) cautioned peers against re-garding the Real IRA, which carried

out the Omagh bombing, as a tiny

rump. He said the group, which had

not been penetrated by the security

forces, could be every bit as deadly

as the body to which its members

formerly belonged.

The Irlsh Republic's toughest

clampdown on terrorism formally

became law on Thursday last week

after the legislation was approved

without a vote by the senate, the

eration at leisure."

Party, was scathing, calling the statement a "word game".

Meanwhile the first 17 conviced terrorists, including one murlerer to benefit from the accelerated to lease programme, part of the field Friday agreement, were due to be freed this week. The IRA restored its ceasein

14 months ago, while at midnight of Monday the Real IRA declared 5 total ceasefire. The organisation which announced a "suspension" u violence three days after the Omagh attack, has been under intense pre-

sure to end its campaign.
Only Continuity IRA, a tiny repub lican aplinter group close to extintion, has yet to declare a cessatio: of violence. Alone among the Ulstet terror organisations, it has never

RUC officer

groups in exile from authoritarian governments", Lord Holme said. A bid to remove this clause from the bill was defeated in the Commons by 220 votes to 24, and the bill was then given an unopposed third

Another policeman suffered le injuries when officers came under a hail of the home-made bombs at they sought to quell rioting an the

cluded the punishment besting of two men in loyalist east Bellasi, And the Real IRA's bomb

Secretary, Mo Mowlam, cane under attack after freeing two Scots Guards jailed for murdering an ur Guards jailed for murdering and armed Catholic teenager six yeas ago. The family of Peter McBrids said Ms Mowlam had assured them she would lasue a press release calling on the Ministry of Defence is dismiss the soldiers, James Fisher aged 30, and Mark Wright, aged 25.

told McBride's family she would can for the soldiers to be sacked.

UK NEWS 11

Northeast hit by mounting job losses

Peter Hetherington

HE GLOBAL economic crisis landed on Tony Blair's doorstep last week when a lapanese company announced the closure of the largest factory in his Sedgefield constituency, writing off an investment of nearly £500 million nderpinned by government grants.

Six weeks after German electronics giant Siemens stunned ministers by abandoning a 15-month-old nicrochip plant on North Tyneside, with the loss of 1,000 jobs, the fulitsu company is preparing to withdraw from a similar complex in Newton Ayeliffe, 20 miles away. Almost 600 jobs could be lost.

decision, Vickers, the engineering and defence group, threatened to close a plant if it is unable to secure new orders for its tank-manufacturing outlet in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. A Vickers spokesman confirmed

that the group would have to close either its Newcastle or Leeds tank plant, both of which employ about 600 people, if it is unable to secure significant orders for its Challenger 2 battle-tank. The Leeds factory is thought to be marginally more secure because it has a testing track as well as a production role.

As the Trade and Industry Secre-

met the Japanese ambassador to press for a last-minute reprieve -Mr Mandelson, whose Hartlepool anxious Labour MPs demanded change of economic policy to pro-

tect ailing industrial areas.

Although ministers blame the worldwide glut in semi-conductors for the closure, several MPs claimed the strong pound was partly responsible. "There has to be a change of direction if unemployment is not to rise dramatically," said one.

Labour MPs from the industrial heartlands are incensed by recent comments from Gavyn Davies, the Goldman Sachs economic guru and

Hard on the heels of the Japanese | suggesting that Mr Blair had earlier | fact of life in the battle to keep the lid on inflation.

> constituency borders Sedgefield and provides workers for l'ujitsu, is said to be drawing up plans for a taskforce to deal with the closure of the £500 million plant, which cost almost as much as the new Siemens complex. A DTI spokesman said it would be inappropriate to comment before the company had time to consult its employees.

But a senior northern MP said many were resigned to closure un-less a deal could be arranged to save jobs with support from Mr

of millions of pounds, played a key role in luring Fujitsu to County Durham and Siemens to North Tyne side. Pressure will now mount on them to repay grants, which could collectively approach £100 million.

Like Siemens, Fujitsu was opened by the Queen in November 1991. The plant reached profitability by 1993, and a year later it received a special award as the company's most successful factory.

• Union leaders met the Prime Minister at Downing Street on Monday to warn him that the recession in the manufacturing industry could turn into a slump unless the Bank of England cuts interest rates, However, Mr Blair told the delegation that the Government had the right mix of economic policies to avoid a recession, providing "nobody pan-

Doctors told to cut back on antibiotics

Sarah Boseley

ENERAL practitioners were I told last week to stop prescribing antibiotics for simple coughs, colds and sore throats, as part of a nationwide strategy to prevent what were once considered miracle drugs from losing their power to light bacteria.

At least 15 million useless prescriptions for autibiotics are handed out by doctors every year for minor complaints caused by viruses, not bacteria. The Government is to launch campaigns to persuade GPs not to prescribe unnecessary antibiotics, and the public not to demand

The Government's Chief Medical Officer. Sir Kenneth Calman, is writing to all doctors as a first step, urging them to take on the recommendations of the Standing Medical Advisory Committee (Smac) which reported last week.

Antibiotics have revolutionised medical care in the 20th century, but there are growing fears that they may become useless. There are now "superbugs" resistant to al-most all drugs, which have mutated to first weak and then stronger forms of antibiotics. A conference in Copenhagen this week will be told that, if nothing is done, antibiotics will not work in 20 years' time, and that drug-resistant bacteria will spread lethal diseases worldwide.

There are 50 million antibiotic prescriptions a year, half of which are for sore throats. Diana Walford, director of the Public Health Laboratory Service, who chaired the River which produced the Smac report, said that two-thirds to three-quarters of those infections were probably caused by viruses Antibiotics are powerless against viral infections, which usually clear up on their own.

But there is evidence that the Government will have its work cut out to change attitudes on both sides of the surgery door. A paper in the British Medical Journal quotes Christopher Butler, of the Department of General Practice, University of Wales College of Med-icine, as saying that "antibiotics are prescribed for a variety of complex casons and their symbolic effect for the doctor-patient relationship should not be underestimated. Single, simple solutions are therefore unlikely to change prescribing babits.



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Anti-terror bill given a rough ride

Michael White and Lucy Ward

THE Government's anti-terrorist bill last week received the Royal Assent after a gruelling passage through both Lords and Commons that generated new levels of mistrust towards Tony Blair's style of government.

Completion of the Criminal Jus-tice (Terrorism and Conspiracy) Bill within 48 hours of its publication will likely trigger the arrest of suspected members of newlyproscribed republican organisations on both side of the Irish border, in passed by the frish parliament.

After the bill cleared a 16-hour Commons session at 6.50am last Thursday, peers of all parties set about repeating their elected colleagues' questions and complaints about the speed and the global scope of the measure. A bid to postpone detailed discussion for a week failed to win support.

The bill got its second reading i the Lords at about 9pm, without vote. Peers then went on to the committee stage line-by-line consideration of the measure.

The Tory spokesman in the Lords, Lord Henley, said he had misgivings about the bill but backed it for the sake of the peace process. as did the Liberal Democrats' elder | in the world.

have been managed in "a more mea-sured way," Lord Holme said after a reputation as a home for liberal protest by his party chief whip, Lord Harris. Lord Harris was an aide to Lord Jenkins, the former Home Secretary who in 1974 put the original anti-terrorist package through Parliament after 19 people died in a

Birmingham bomb attack. "We are asked to give the executive almost absolute power to put the legislation on the statute book without detailed debate in the normal manner," said Lord Harris. Lord Cranborne, Tory leader in the Lords, expressed "deep unease" and said the bill had been introduced in an "extraordinary hurried

and ill-prepared way" Some of the MPs who had condemned the Government's approach took comfort from a pledge by the Home Secretary, Jack Straw, taped police interviews in Northern Ireland.

Mr Straw also accepted Opposition calls for an annual report to Parliament on the bill's effect.

Lord Holme and his fellow Liberal Democrat, Lord Russell, were outraged that ministers had "tagged on" to the Irish component of the bill measures to make it easier to convict those conspiring in Britain upper house of the Irish parliament. to commit terrorist acts elsewhere

Obituary, page 25 | statesman, Lord Holme. It could | The measures were cast so | Comment, page 12

hit by blast

AN RUC officer was fighting for his life last Sunday after receive ing serious head injuries when 1, blast bomb was thrown at police during loyalist rioting in Portadown writes John Mullin.

Corcrain estate.
Other incidents on Sunday in

Omagh claimed its 29th victim three weeks after it exploded in the County Tyrone town. Sean Mo-Grath, aged 61, died at the Royal Victoria hospital in Belfast.

Meanwhile the Northern Irelan

However, the Northern Ireland Office dealed that Ms Mowlam had GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Françoise Chipeux

TOHAMMED ALI JINNAH

lims a homeland of their own with

the creation of Pakistan on August

1, 1947. But is that homeland now

falling apart? Everybody agrees that

the problems facing this country of

140 million people go far beyond ar

"Pakistan is facing an unprece-

dealed crisis which is threatening

is existence," claims the former

prime minister and now leader of

the opposition, Benazir Bhutto,

This is a total crisis of the eco-

comy, institutions, federal struc-

tures, ruling system, state and

society. It's time we agreed on what

After a tottering economy was

hid low by the backlash of sanctions

and the flight of investors following

Pakistan's nuclear tests, the recent

United States cruise missile strikes

Afghanistan have revealed the

contradictions of a country that

seeks favours from the West while

at the same time supporting the

most backward-looking of Islamic

regimes in Kabul and providing

raining in guerrilla warfare to a

arge number of young Afghan men

writed into fanalics by extremist

"If we don't put an end to the

ellorts to turn Pakistan into a war-

ist state, ideologically centred on

in extremist credo of holy war,

here's a great danger of our beloved

ountry being outlawed and accused

The disastrous handling of the

supporting terrorism," says

Islamic movements.

onlinary governmental crisis.

dreamed of giving the In-

dian subcontinent's Mus-

THE State Duma is Russia's main democrati-cally elected assembly. Its members have interests and principles - and constituents, to whom they must look for re-election. When the Duma rejects the nomination of a prime minister, as it has done twice in the case of Viktor Chernomyrdin, that should not be instantly characterised as a dangerous obstruction to the efforts to find a solution to the country's economic crisis. This is democratic politics, with political groupings and individuals manoeuvring for position while appealing to their supporters and to the public at large. Risky stuff, admittedly, when the economic and political prospects are so dire. Yet it is precisely because they are so dire that the Duma should not be condemned for making the most of a transition that offers it what it does not normally enjoy under Russia's excessively presidential con stitution, a substantial influence over events.

As Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin, both diminished men, played out empty roles in their Moscow meetings, the mistakes of the past are clearly to be seen. The West put its bets on Mr Yeltsin as a strong man, and now that he is weak, it hardly knows what to do, except to cast around for a new strong man and hope that maybe Mr Chernomyrdin will do. We see the Russian crisis through spectacles in which one lens is focused on our own economic difficulties and another on the need to ensure that Russia's nuclear weapons are secure. Western governments thus have a tendency to welcome the autocratic and authoritarian solutions which, out of the other corner of their mouths, they say they deplore. But the main purpose of the parties and political groupings in the Duma is not to bring swift reassurance to worried Westerners or to halt the slide on other peoples' stock exchanges. It is to do what is right for Russia while still competing with one another for political advantage. After all, if Mr Chernomyrdin is successful in winning enough Duma support, the chances are that Russia will have picked not only its next prime minister but its next president, who might head the country for a decade, Surely it is not surprising when Duma members question whether this mediocre and limited figure, so involved in past failures, and so beholden to Russia's irresponsible new business class, is the man to lead the country into the next century?

It is not just the Communists and the nationalists who are opposing Mr Chernomyrdin, but the Yabloko bloc, which is the nearest Russia has to a social democratic party. That grouping, led by Grigori Yaviinsky, opposes him because they see him as the wrong man with the wrong policies. The Communists, who were in any case about to launch a campaign of demonstrations against the government, do not want to moderate their opposition to Mr Yeltsin except on terms humiliating to the president. Mr. Chernomyrdin could nevertheless eventu-ally make it: the Communists have changed their minds before. In any drawn-out process, new candidates will emerge. Such candidates may or may not be better than Mr Chernomyrdin and may or may not have a serious chance of achieving power. And the West may grit its teeth at the market uncertainties to which a longer transition in Russia will contribute. Yet who can deny that Russia's elected representatives have a right to take their time over a decision of such critical importance?

A rushed. flawed law

N the aftermath of the Omagh bombing, Mo Mowlam insisted that her government was not in the business of using "a sledgehammer to crack a nut". At the time, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland was discussing the merits of internment as a solution to the problem of the so-called Real IRA. And yet in 24 hours last week the Government rushed through Parliament a bill that is nothing if not a mighty, oversized sledgehammer - one that is hardly certain to crack the nut of dissident republicanism, but which is bound to take a large chunk out of Britain's fundamental civil liberties.

The Criminal Justice (Terrorism and Conspiracy) Bill comes in two key parts, the first dealing with the threat of violence in Northern Ireland, the second with foreign plotters hatching wicked schemes

on British soil. The former contains several alarming erosions of liberty. It allows the word of a senior police officer to count as evidence of a suspect's membership of a proscribed organisation. If the of-ficer is asked to substantiate his hunch, he can refuse, claiming that to reveal intelligence matters would damage national security. He can hide behind the dreaded Public Interest Immunity certificates, a tool of the state routinely abused for political ends. A suspect has lost further rights: he cannot remain silent to avoid self-incrimination, nor can he have a solicitor by his side. These are basic human rights, removed with barely a day's reflection by elected representatives.

Of course, the Government insists that such draconian measures are essential. Tony Blair's sombre reminder of the havoc wrought in Omagh last month was designed in part to hush all critics into submission, as if to object to the new bill is to support the Real IRA. That is nonsense. We object to these measures because they eat away at the very liberty and democracy that terrorism seeks to destroy. Moreover there are strong grounds to believe that crackdowns of this kind do not work. When they were tried before, chiefly in the 1970s, they only served to create a political grievance and constituency — for hardline republicanism. The real response to terror is political, the kind of steady peacemaking that leaves extremists isolated and irrelevant. Recent days have seen proof of how a peace process - not the elimination of civil liberies — brings results: Gerry Adams has declared violence "over, done with and gone" and his deputy, Martin McGuinness, has said he will sit as Sinn Fein's representative on the body supervising the decommissioning of wespons. This is how the war against terror is won.

The measures designed to foil terrorist plots oversess are just as dangerous. Under the new law, an activist working against a vile regime abroad could be arrested in Britain, so long as the politicians have decided he is a terrorist — just as Margaret Thatcher branded Nelson Mandela in the 1980s. The long line of dissenters who have found a haven in London — from Garibaldi to the French resistance - would find themselves in the sights of the Metropolitan Police. Moreover the Blair government risks a diplomatic sightmare. In the past it could refuse pressure from foreign dictatorships to pick up troublemakers harbouring in Britain, claiming that our law simply did not cover their actions. Now it will — so the Cabinet will have to decide which emigrés are "terrorists" and which are "freedom fighters", offending a long line of foreign governments in the process. This is a had bill: it is rushed, flawed and should never have been tabled - let alone passed into law.

Sky's the limit?

CYNICS will suggest that Manchester United and Rupert Murdoch deserve each other. Both put money before everything else, are for ever searching for new ways of exploiting their audiences and are committed to expanding their commercial interests. But that would be too cynical. Manchester has every reason to be proud of its famous football club; no other British club has been as successful in the past 10 years. Mr Murdoch's satellite-television group, BSkyB, is ready to pay up to £575 million, BSkyB knows how lucrative football has become. It is easy to see why Mr Murdoch wants United but difficult to understand why Manchester is accepting the bait: it already has an income twice as high as the next | pageantry mocks all attempts a English club and four times the Premier League's should resist his embrace.

The UK sports minister, Tony Banks, is right: the deal raises profound competition-policy questions for both the sport and the news media. It would be preposterous if BSkyB's reported bid wasn't subjected to a forensic examination by the regulatory authorities. This deal is riddled with conflicts of interest. Mr Murdoch's interests already own the television rights to Premiership matches. If he gains control of United he will strongly influence the way the league votes for future rights. He has admitted that he uses sport as a "battering ram" to buy market share for his satellite TV companies but this doesn't mean he should be allowed to dominate every major sporting activity. And what about the conflicts of interest arising from his cross-media ownership? Will writers in the Sun be free to rubbish United and call for the manager or chairman's resignation? Will BSkyB commentators be constrained? It is one thing to dominate the medium through which television programmes are transmitted, but quite another to dominate the content as well.

Abolish the monarchy and all its trappings

Polly Toynbee

A /HEN Demos, the thinktank closest to Tony Blair, V started work on its radical pamphlet on the future of the monarchy, no doubt it was judged well timed to launch it in the aftermath of the Diana anniversary. For many, it may fall into a well of utter exhaustion with anything royal. Enough, enough!

Britain may be Diana'd out, the princes may have called for no more, out there the monarchy is, a bizarre outpost of the political system that preoccupies national life to the point of utter insanity. In the days when the monarchy was dull and distant, dimly glimpsed in their kilts in the mists of Balmoral, they seemed unimportant. They were a piece of furniture, like a mahogany side-board so drearily familiar we had long since stopped noticing its existence, in the real world where serious things were done, there were better things to worry about than their defunct powers. Bagehot's

would surely continue to fade gracefully into irrelevance. Then came Diana, neither dull nor dignified. Her celebrity brought them back to centre stage, an epic drama unfolding before our eyes, fascinating in its banality, a public tragi-comedy that gave them back their full iconic status. Obsession gripped the nation as never before n post-war memory: Principe Tampax (as he was called in the Italian press) and Squidgy seemed to present a dysfunctional mirror of a dysfunctional society. They were, of course, nothing of the kind, nor is modern society especially dysfunctional, but that became the modern myth; royalty again as a symbol of

"dignified" part of the constitution

It was not their behaviour that turned me republican: they are as free as the rest of us to behave as they choose, with all its consequences. It was the effect on the nation that makes it important now to end this infantile charade. Such fascination with such irrelevance turns Britons again into subjects, obliged to contemplate daily in detail the doings of people who have nothing to do with them, still less their

national self-image. Royalty and its trappings drag us back to a fantasy vision of who and what the country is. The glorious "modernising" and "rebranding" ideas of their place in the world as the sons and daughters of empire, sons for abolition. Reform would be plessing the pl Bluff King Hal and Good Queen start an institutional revolution in Bess, all heritage, no real history. If side the darkest, least democrate all glory and honour is vested in the corridors of power: if the crown to past, the future can only seem like a continuing downward trajectory. So perhaps it's not surprising that the authors of the Demos pamphlet on rebranding Britain - a theme avidly taken up by Tony Blair have turned their thoughts to re-

branding the monarchy. There is not, they assert, any evidence that the people want to abolish the crown, but there is discontent with the way the monarchy is run. So they propose radical reforms that have already attracted outraged front-page headlines in the Daily Mail.

The most dramatic of their pro-

posals is for an "affirmative referen-dum" before each new monarch is crowned, requiring majority supshould no longer appoint prime min-laters and judges, dissolve Parlia-ment or give Royal Assent to new Bills. The royal household would be come a civil service department, and the monarch would no longer head the Church of England. A bicycling nonarchy would use the National

Health Service and state schools. One of the authors, Tim Hames is a Conservative political theorist, Times leader writer and author of rightwing pamphlets. No republica ' e. They say reform is the only way save the crown. However, as the Mail rightly spots, much of this is more likely to destroy it. If they ideas take root, then in future times historians may look back and mark we want and where we're going," this as one of the stations on the road to abolition.

For once you start to apply much reason — let alone democracy the crown, the thing falls apart in your hands. Charles will be next king because of his genes and for no other reason. If we are obsessed with the extramarital doings of the royals, there is for once good resson: breeding is their purpose in life. If we were to start voling, it would raise the dangerous question Why him? Why not someone else Once the debate was begun in the run-up to a referendum, there might be no stopping it. Would republi cans get equal time for pre-referen

senior politician, let alone party, willing to discuss the ssue, so there has been no debate Politicians hammer out the manir sues of the day, but increasingly fail to offer voters a choice on pressing questions argued out in every by and pub in the country, from the legalisation of cannabis to the about tion of the monarchy. So we should look with some doubt at current opinion poll findings: they might

change if public debate began. According to the Demos pol, a majority think the queen's residual political powers should be removed. yet an overwhelming majority want the monarchy to stay. An ICM pol recently found, however, that 52 per cent of the people thought the cour try would be no worse without it That is a remarkable shift slace 1994, when 70 per cent thought the country would do worse without it

So opinion is volatile. Reform along the lines longer appointed judges, for instance, there would be an open debate on who should. But one over riding republican argument would remain. Abolition would free us from our national idolatrous obsession with these people. It may not be the with these people. It may not be used to royal family's fault—they too deep it—but we are reduced to absurd primitivism in our national fasched tion with such trivis. It makes British the laughing stock of the world. It diminishes and infantilises us in our distributions the chance to vote.

own eyes. Given the chance to volt

things and grow up.

spate of contradictory statements, in Kashmir guerrilla camps has compounded the crisis of confi-unlikely to improve them. dence in a government accused of conniving with the US while at the same time being incapable of ensur-

Pakistan teeters on the edge of chaos

ing the country's security. The missile strikes have given a boost to Islamist movements, such as the Jamiat-i-Islami, which have decided to mobilise the masses to topple the government. Attempts by Nawaz Sharif's government to outdo the Islamists by introducing an amendment to make the Koran and the Sunna the "supreme law of Pakistan" are unlikely to mollify those movements whose leaders are publicly declaring that they no longer believe in the electoral

While the Pakistani authorities privately rejoice over the Taliban's success in Afghanistan, most analysts condemn the Pyrrhic victory that their allies' advance could turn out to be for Islamabad.

"Pakistan today appears to be morally and politically isolated, a situation it shares with the Taliban, who are presenting a deformed and repugnant Islam to the world," says lobal Ahmad, a Pakistani intellectual. "It is too early to measure the consequences of this isolation, but it is certain to whip up the sense of insecurity that has been haunting Pakistan for 50 years and has contributed so much to its poverty and militarisation."

The Central Asian republics, which only a short time ago raised hopes of new market openings, are today slamming their doors against the Taliban advance. Contacts with Iran, a traditional political and economic ally, have never been so minimal. Relations with India are on ice. missile crisis by the Pakistani and the publicity given to young authorities, who have been issuing a Pakistanis from the Punjab training

unlikely to improve them.

Le Monde

Even though the existence of these camps was known, New Delhi has a strong argument here. After the US assistant secretary of state, Thomas Pickering, warned India against resorting to violence in Kashmir, the Indian interior minister, M L K Advani, deplored what he called the US's double standards in dealing with terrorism. "We are the victims of terrorism and a proxy war waged by Pakistan," he says. "Do we not have the right to take all measures for protecting the security of our nation and its citizens?" Only the US, as the chief provider

of financial assistance vital for staving off bankruptcy, can ball out Pakistan. But Washington has set as its bottom line that Islamabad sign the test ban treaty and limit the development of nuclear weapons. Signing the test ban treaty, or at least making a firm commitment to sign it at an early date, is the key to loans from the International Monetary Fund and the rescheduling of the 832 billion debt that Pakistan owes the Club of Paris member

The IMF is also insisting on stiff reforms which, like the signing of the test ban treaty, will be hard for a discredited government to sell to the country when, given the mood of anti-Americanism among the general public, such measures will be interpreted as capitulating to

An aiready inextricable crisis i further bedevilled by increasingly open dissension among the federation's four provinces, or rather, between Sindh, Baluchistan and Northwest Frontier Province on one side and "arrogant" Punjab on the

"Is Punjab becoming Pakistan's Serbia?" asks Shehzad Amjad, a

In the 18 months that Sharif's Muslim League has been in power, regional alliances in all three provinces. And a resurgence of violence in the economic capital Karachi, is paralysing business.

Given this situation, some Pakistanis consider that the democratic system, however circumscribed is may be, is in the balance. By amending the constitution, as soon as he won power in February 1997, to withdraw from the president the power to dissolve the government, Sharif has practically slammed the door on any possibility of legal

The two blg parties, the Muslim League and Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's party, are both equally discredited. Once again, many are turning for a possible solution to the army, which has run Pakistan for more than half its existence. The military do not seem to be interested in openly taking over the reins, but they may be willing to back a government of technocrats entrusted with pushing through vital reforms.

Pakistan, Amiad warns, is either going to accept wide-ranging political and economic reforms and make a new start, or sink deeper into the bottomless pit of crises, coullagrations and anarchy" until it is "totally vined out as a concrete geographical entity".

This is a gloomy prediction, but it shared by an increasing number of people. Possession of the atom omb has changed nothing in a country which, 50 years after it was created, is still feeling its way. (September 3)

ity for such cases with a single

section of the Public Prosecutor

Department, where they were

turned over to a team of anti-

terrorist judges. In order to

"terrorise the terrorists", as the

Since then, judges invested with

official line went, the end was

allowed to justify the means.

extensive powers have been

tracking down the enemy in

Islamist circles in Corsica and

the Basque region, readily re-

if this means unjustifiably de-

aining acores of suspects.

sorting to mass round-ups, even

Such a centralisation of anti-

be criticised and does not lack

tion the law is strictly observed

and the individual responsibili-

ties of those put on trial are

judged in all fairness. This is

clearly not true in the Chalabi

mass trial. It is impossible to try

so many people at once. A show

and only betrays a determination

trial like this makes no sense.

to give the public the illusion

that France's drive against ter-

rorism is producing results.

ffectiveness, but only on condi

terrorist legal procedures cannot

is parental role model Antoine Jacob in Helsinki NORDIC prime ministers can sometimes be touchingly

Finnish PM

attentive to one another. Visiting Helsinki the other weekend, the Norwegian prime minister, Kjell Magne Bondevik, offered his host, Paavo Lipponen, a set of baby clothes. Lipponen, Finland's 57year-okl prime minister, became a ather for the second time on August 21. He decided to take a week's parental leave as soon as his young wife checked out of hospital.

The pregnancy of 31-year-old Paivi Hertzberg was one of the most publicised events in Finland's history. Finns had been closely following the couple ever since they met at a Social Democratic party gathering when first wife. Their marriage in January was like a royal wedding. Now Lipponen is going to take time off from work to look after the newborn child with his wife at their family home.

The minister of the economy, Sauli Niinistö, will stand in for the prime minister. Nünistö is a conservative, whereas Lipponen is a Social Democrat. But what does it matter? Finland is governed by a rainbox coalition that runs from left to right. and things are running quite smoothly.

This is the first time that a ment ber of the Finnish government has taken paternal leave, which was made available for fathers some 20 years ago. The law authorises them to take from six to 12 days off work and be paid an indemnity, varying according to salary, of up to 440 marks (about \$75) a day.

Lipponen prefers the Finnish system to that of neighbouring Sweden, where the father is obliged to take at least 30 days off work to look after his baby at home. A father on paternal leave receives 80 per cent of his salary, and the leave can be spread over eight years. The extra time is often used for holidays or watching sport on television.

The parental leave system is meeting with resistance from employers, who are not keen on allowing their male staff to get involved full-time in changing napples and preparing feeding bottles. So the Finoish minister of social affairs is planning a campaign to increase public awareness of the father's role in the house.

What better peg for promoting the cause than Lipponen himsel? The prime minister should there fore expect to be invited shortly to promote the project. Judging by the way he goes about exhorting men to help their wives when they are having babies, he might well end up accepting the offer.

Formerly bear-like and unsmiling, Lipponen appears to have under-gone a Pauline conversion — probably under the influence of his wife, But the coming general elections may also have something to do with It. The Social Democrats' image was tarnished by political and financial scandals in 1997, and they risk losing power in March 1999.

But this isn't discouraging the PM's popular wife from embarking on a political career; she is standing for a Helsinki seat. (August 27)

of justice

THE TRIAL of 138 people

EDITORIAL

Aparody

accused of belonging to an slamic terrorist support net-sark headed by Mohammed balabi, which opened on ^{eplem}ber 1 in a gymnasium at feury-Mérogia, outside Paris, ses a dangerous precedent. The kga system is turning its back on principles which, in theory, ple". During the hearings, which are expected to last at least two months, the defendants - 27 of whom are already in custody will be herded into a gymnasium belonging to the national prisons administration and tried on an asembly-line basis, almost in be shadow of a prison wall. llow can these defendants be ssured of an impartial hearing then right from the start the bial's legal setting is tantamount to an indictment? The trial is deemed to fall outside the frameork of ordinary legal procedures because it is taken for nied that the defendants are itcessarily involved with one on it, the people might well decide was time to put away these children

bother, accomplices of a "ring"



PHOTO: JACK DABAGHION lleged Islamic terrorists is under way

who cannot be judged except as a single group and without worry-ing about niceties. How can justice be delivered calmly. responsibilities sorted out and degrees of involvement defined when the prosecution brief is a procedural monstrosity running into 74 volumes containing more than 30,000 sub-sections? How can the presumption of the innocence be represented when

having been proven in a court of law - for almost four years?

This parody of justice, approved by the country's highest legal authorities, is the culmination of a questionable system that has been operating for more than 10 years. After the wave of terrorist attacks in 1986, a law was passed placing responsibil-

some of the defendants have been in custody — without their guilt

While there is only silence from those who are quick to castigate the French legal system when the mighty of the land are put in the dock, a small group of

mostly immigrant workers will receive a raw deal at the hands of justice. (September 3)

1

Guillaume Crouzet

T WAS only just over 50 years ago that the Côtes-du-Rhône white wine, Condrieu, was first put in bottle. Until then, it had been sold in bulk. It did not travel well, so found a ready market in the bistros of the nearby mining town, Saint-

Today Condrieu will be found on the wine lists of the world's top restaurants. A bottle of the stuff bought directly from the grower will generally cost 120 france (\$20) at the very least — always assuming there is any left to buy.

Not many people know Mount Pilat, the part of the Massif Cen-tral's granite substratum that juts furthest out into the Rhône Valley. The village of Condrieu — "corner of the stream" in old French — is located on the right bank of the river, in the shadow of Mount Pilat, 11km south of the town of Vienne.

The vineyards that surround the village cling to tiny terraces perched on steep slopes. They lie at the centre of a small production area covering nearly 100 hectares located in seven different communes. Average annual production totals no more than 250,000 bottles.

Condrieu is lucky to have survived at all. A combination of Phyloxers (the pest that devastated French vineyards in the second half of the 19th century), the first world war, the crisis in the wine trade during the thirties, and the particularly difficult conditions faced by Con-drieu wine growers, who have to tend vines on very steep slopes, al-most got the better of the Viognier grape, the only variety grown in the

area.

Although an area of about 200 hectares was defined as Condrieu appellation d'origine contrôlée (AOC) in 1940, only six hectares had survived by the fifties.

"Everyone was grubbing up their vines and planting fruit trees," says Georges Vernay, the first grower who believed the appellation could be rescued. "At the time, negociants were paying 60 centimes [10c] per kilo for grapes, whereas apricots were already worth more than one and a half times as much."

In the seventies a book came out called Le Viognier Est-il Condamné? (Is The Viognier Doomed?). The thick-skinned grape, which contains relatively little juice, was indeed disappearing from this little Côtes-du-



place where it is cultivated.

Vernay and a handful of other winegrowers were determined to put their faith in Condrieu's future against all the odds. On the main road Vernay built a tasting booth with his own hands so that passing motorists could get to know the delights of Condrieu, a pale yellow, supple wine with a powerful bouquet of wild flowers and apricot.

For some time now, Vernay, who is 72, has left the task of vinification to his daughter Christine. But it is still difficult to keep up with him as he strides along the chaillets, the tiny terraces hewn out of the granite hillaide, where it gets so hot in summer that it is possible to work there only between 5 and 10am. "The vine likes only one shadow, that of the person tending it," Vernay says.

The small strips of soil between the low stone walls are sometimes so narrow they can take only one row of vines. It is impossible to use machinery, so everything has to be done by hand.

of Condrieu in 1953. He has since gradually expanded to six. On a bend in the road that winds its way up the hillside, he points to a stretch of fallow land near his vineyard that he plans to buy soon. Condrieu, a wine regarded as a museum piece

30 years ago, is slowly but surely reconquering its territory. Vernay has been savouring his victory. The television personality and gournet, Bernard Pivot, delighted him when he said that his 1992 Coteau de Vernon was probably the best white wine he had ever

Other personalities such as top cheis Pierre Gagnaire, Paul Bocuse and Alain Pic in Valence have long been fans of the wine. Since the beginning of the eighties, many young winegrowers have in turn come to

believe in the merits of Condrieu. Yves Cuilleron followed in his wine-growing father's and grandcreased the area of his estate to ance right."

any other Condrieu grower.

Like many of his young colleagues who claim to have rediscovered what they call "the original truth of Condrieu", Cuilleron offers a version of the wine that is not dry, but medium sweet, or moelleux, as Condrieu used to be.

To produce it, he leaves the grapes very late on the vines and hand-picks them when they have been affected by botrytis, or noble rot (like Sauternes). The result of the process, his Récolte Tardive Ayguets, has a strong alcoholic structure, a high residual sugar level, and very cooked aromas of

While late harvesting is currently all the rage in Condrieu, it accounts for only 5 per cent of total output, according to the president of the Winegrowers' Union, Robert Niero. He is not himself one of its greatest fans: "Certain overripe cuvées are father's footsteps. Since taking over the business in 1987, he has in-

- more than 850 according to

Jean Lenoir, a Burgundian who some years ago devised an original olfactory wine box, has just brought out a Nez du Café, which aims to introduce people to some of those aromas. After two years' research, he isolated a wide range of aromas, from the smell of garden peas to touches of fresh butter, caramel, potato

and blackcurrant buds. His box exists in two versions one containing 36 aromas and a simpler version that offers a mere six aromas - an ideal number for someone wishing to initiate themselves in the fine art

romas. Coffee has a very large number of aromatic components

Directeur: Jean-Marie Color

Wild about strawberries

A Few years ago, most bough strawberries were college woolly and utterly tasteless, wild so hard to develop sturdy, unbruished able fruit that they forgot that girst berries should also possess another.

Big Chill Greets Clinton Back Home

Yet Clinton's predicament will cause intense scrutiny of his performance on these matters. He will cause intense scrutiny of his performance on these matters. He will be a supplied to the start of the supplied to the suppl berries should also possess anothe

berries would have been deemd unworthy by Thérèsa Tallen, wit of the French revolutionary Jea-Lambert Tallien, who liked to pr strawberries into her bath to softe

have begun to change on the strat-berry front. Under the segis of Fraises de France, an association d 3,000 strawberry growers, the fut a beginning to taste of somethin gain — with spectacular results in the past 10 years, consumption of strawberries has gone up by 50 pm, his fabled ability to "compartmental-time" his life, insulating political trouway through almost 4kg of the fut way through almost 4kg of the fut way through almost 4kg of the fut way through almost 4kg of the fut who have talked with Clinical and the past 10 years, consumption of question whether he can maintain six and outside nave beguin to question whether he can maintain six and outside nave beguin to question whether he can maintain his fabled ability to "compartmental-time" his fabled ability to "compartm

One of the best examples of the 'new" strawberry is a spring vain called Gariguette. A narrow, conic orange-red fruit with slightly acisweet-smelling flesh, it has become ncreasingly popular.

The variety is not new; it was de veloped in 1977 by the Fren: National Agricultural Research is stitute (INRA) at its Montfavel ste tion in the south of France. But the year, when the harvest was excertionally good, sales went throug!

The Gariguette has a short set son, and by mid-June it is almost in possible to find any on sale. But la then another Fraises de Francsponsored strawberry — and : doubt the finest of the lot — 1 have begun to appear on many stalls: the Mara de Boia.

At the beginning of the aineto-strawberry grower André Mano net, after 17 years of research, mc aged to develop this extraordient of a cultivated strawberry, but the taste of its wild cousin.

The Marionnet family have been

based in the village of Soingre' Sologne, in central France, for its past century and a half. At one point they split into two branches, and made up of nurserymen, the observed winegrowers. If Andres courseller talks about respected blackberries, cherries or blacker rants, he is referring to some of the aromas to be found in his excellen

Gamay première vendange.

André's son, Jacques Marional has 80 hectares of strawberl fields, including Mara des Bois. Its fields, including Mara des Bois. berries — wonderful old varieties were given names like Madan Moutot, Reine d'Août and Vice

tesse Héricart de Thury. The incomparably scented Man des Bols strawberries have 60 fault, though: they are extremely fragile and need to be eaten the do they are bought (which is usual no problem). They are also very pensive, at 80-120 franca (\$12,\$20) kilo in Paris.

Le Monde

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The Washington Post

ACING the prospect that his presidency may be perma-nently disabled, President Clinton returned this past weekend wa Washington environment dramatically different than the one he left for three weeks of vacation and foreign travel.
With his political support erod-

ing, Clinton enters a crucial fall elecion season needing to prove that he can still govern effectively and not simply go through the motions as a grievously wounded leader. Some advisers both within the administraion and outside have begun to

on in recent days or spoken with senior aides about how he is holding up said he seemed rattled by the blout from his nationally televised confession on August 17 and the damage he caused himself by his indiscretion and the deceitful way he responded to the controversy.

"His mood is as deeply sad as I've sen him," said an adviser who desribed Clinton as "quite disoriented" and "very stricken" by events of the past three weeks. At times on his foreign trip, he gave the appearance of a haunted man his face drawn, his voice subdued, his eyes weighted by bags.

While there was some doubt at list whether Clinton understood the peril he was in or the degree to which he caused his own troubles, this has registered," the adviser uid. The adviser said Clinton's despondency has been exacerbated by the fact that "Hillary has not for-

A Clinton adviser who talks with him regularly compared his current plight with the aftermath of the GOP strep in the 1994 congressional dections: He became despondent, Med with doubts, not to mention suspicious and resentful of his staff, is as he apparently has bridled at their advice and criticism since the Monica S. Lewinsky speech.

By the end of the trip he seemed more visibly upbeat, even managing round of golf in Ireland last Saturday. This week he plunged into a roust schedule of events intended to remote his positions on education aprovements, Social Security relorm and the perilous state of the in-

to Russia, Northern Ireland and the demonstrated that it will be harder than ever to separate his problems from his policy — to put them "in a box." as he likes to say. Unlike previous foreign missions this year that provided welcome respites from domestic problems, the Lewinsky matter hung over every stop.

One former senior administration official who remains close to colleagues in the White House said be believes Clinton has not been able to compartmentalize the Lewinsky scandal the way he could earlier

"Filegate, Travelgate, what did he know?" the former official said. "He always saw Whitewater as a political issue. He always had a psychological distance from his problems. This is closer to the bone." The August 17 speech, the official added, illustrated how Clinton can no longer keep his personal problems removed from his political life. Clinton also relied less on advis-

ers during his overseas trip. As he prepared for his Moscow news conference with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, aides said they spent barely five minutes discussing how to respond to Lewinsky questions. Clinton told reporters at the event that he thought his original statement of regret had adequately addressed the matter. Two days later in Dublin, after Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman, D-Connecticut, back home criticized the president for 'immoral" behavlor, Clinton encouraged little discussion as he told ad-

visers how he would respond. He then went before cameras to say for the first time that he was "very sorry" for his actions. Clinton's mood evolved dramatically through the trip. In Russia, where Hillary Rodham Clinton appeared distant during joint events, the president seemed downbeat. His speech to Moscow university students was flat and generated

the news conference with Yeltsin were soft and sullen. When he arrived at Belfast to address leaders of Northern Ireland, he gave another speech that did lit-tle to rouse, But his spirits brightened visibly as the day wore on and he met thousands of admiring Protestants and Catholics who halled him as a savior for brokering the Good Friday peace accords.

lukewarm applause. His answers at



The president returns to Washington no longer able to segregate his personal problems from his political agenda PHOTOGRAPH CHRIS PLEPOMS

he finally evinced his more normal iocular confidence, ad-libbing jokes throughout a speech at a computer factory. He drank in the crowds at his final stop in southwestern Ire-land, where he looked like a kid at Christmas as he reached out for a thousand hands on a rope line in Limerick.

White House officials traveling with him insisted that he was tired early in the trip, not dispirited. "We overscheduled him," said a top aide.

And foreign officials said they

noticed no lack of focus in private meetings. "If he was distracted, he hides it very well," said Daniel Mulhall of the Irish Foreign Affairs Department. "Everywhere he was, you could see a real concentration. Distracted people don't ad-lib very

Still, while maintaining his ability to perform his duties remains unimpaired, Clinton aides acknowledged

By the time he reached Dublin. I what they have been reluctant to concede until now that the Lewinsky matter has distracted the president.

"He's incredibly focused on what he's doing at the time," said a senior administration official who accompanied him. "But it's impossible for him in some way not to be affected. and it would be ridiculous to try to convince you otherwise." If Clinton is losing his gift for in ulating one problem from another,

here are some supporters who think this may be not be such a bad thing. It is precisely this tendency to focus one thing at a time — heedless of how words and actions in one setting have consequences in another - that leads Clinton to commit reckless indiscretions, Curry said. *One of the few lessons of this is that compartmentalization is a bad idea." he said. "Your life is supposed to be in one drawer . . .

Compartmentalization was always crisis. Not surprisingly, the Russian media paid little atten-

go to Moscow. The U.S.-Russia relationship remains critical. That Russia has remained within

Two More Arrested in **Bombings**

Michael Grunwald

ANZANIAN investigators have A arrested two suspects in the August 7 bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Dar es Salaam, and the FBI has filed an arrest warrant seeking a third suspect in the nearly simultanous bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Nairobl, law enforcement sources said last weckend.

The three new suspects, like the two suspects already in U.S. custody in connection with the Nairobi at tack, are all Islamic extremists with links to Saudi terrorist Osama bin Laden, the sources said. They added that prosecutors are already starting to strategize about a criminal case against bin Laden, and said the farflung FBI investigation is still gaining momentum nearly a month after the bombings killed 263 people and wounded more than 5,500 others.

Sources said the new suspect in the Kenya bombing, a citizen of the tiny African archipelago of Comoros who had been living in Sudan, goes by the alias of Abdallah Mohammed Fadhul, A sealed criminal complaint seeking his arrest has been filed in New York, and last week, FBI agents and Comoran police raided homes belonging to his wife and his parents in the Comoran capital of Moroni, 180 miles off the east coast

So far, Fadhul has eluded capture the sources said. But investigators announced last weekend that they have detained two suspects - one Tanzanian and one non-Tanzanian - and three informants in the Dar es Salaam blast, the first public breakthrough in that half of the case. Kenneth Piernick, the top FBI official in Tanzania, told reporters that investigators there have made "extraordinary discoveries," and are now sure they know who carried out the attack and how it was done.

Sources said the FBI is also looking for several additional suspects in the bombings, although so far it has only sought a warrant for Fadhul. The sources would not say what role Fadhul or the suspects in Tanzania allegedly played in the bomb ings, but they are all believed to be members of al Qaida, which State Department documents have described as the "operational hub" of bin Laden's terrorist network. In the complaint charging suspect Mo-hammed Saddiq Odeh, already in U.S. custody, with 12 counts of mur der, one for each American killed in the Nairobi blast, the FBI directly accused al Qaida of planning and carrying out that attack.

Over the last four weeks, nearly 500 FBI personnel have worked on the embassy bombings in more than a dozen countries. The forensic work is about complete, and investigators have identified the explo-sives involved as TNT. The FBI has by all accounts gotten along well with foreign investigators, and it has even worked cooperatively with the CIA, a longtime autagonist in simi lar situations.

"We've been on the opposite side of these things for too long," one FBI official said. "We realized that we needed to get on the same page and stop fighting, and we've done it. You can see the results.

Cafés offer a taste of Naples to weed out any that show the aligntest blemisb. "About 50"

OME French cafés have recently begun to offer customers a new type of coffee, an express à la napolitaine, writes Guillaume Crouzet. The Neapolitan firm, Rubino, the biggest coffee manufacturer in Italy after Lavazza, has just launched a Neapolitan-style brew called Kimbo.

"Coffee here in Naples is not the same as in northern Italy," says Rubino's production manager Ennio Glardino. "It's more heavily roasted. The raw coffee beans lose up to 20 per cent of their weight as they roast, whereas the more lightly roasted coffee preferred in the north usually loses only 15 per cent."

The two roasting techniques produce very different results. The Neanolitan espresso is more intense, longer in the mouth and bitterer (some people even say it has a slightly burnt taste), while its northern cousin is smoother and rounder, but also a little more acid.

The difference between the two is accentuated by the coffee varieties used. While robusta goes into most Kimbo blends. the celebrated Trieste-based manufacturer, Illy, uses only

arabica in its espresso blend. Andrea Illy, who is a perfectionist, subjects his coffee to electronic testing bean by bean

before roasting and is thus able

beans are required for a cup of espresso, and you need only one to be imperfect for the whole cup to be ruined." he says.

Although the first espresso machine was put on show as long ago as 1855, high-pressure machines are still rare in French households because of their price. Apart from what they drink in calés (where a quarter of all coffee in France is consumed), the French prefer filter machines, which require twice as much coffee as an espresso machine to produce a cup.

Above all, the ground beans' lengthy contact with hot water and the lack of pressure have two negative effects compared with an espresso coffee: a higher of coffee drinking and the

Genevan chemist Yvan Flament.

Irrelevant Moscow Summit | the two leaders. He flubbed one | estimate the depth of Russia's answer at a joint Kremlin news | crisis. Not surprisingly. the EDITORIAL

HE U.S. and Russian presidents tried to convey an imression of business-as-usual in their Moscow summit last week. hey signed a couple of minor and NATO. They pledged (in President Borls Yeltsin's case) fdelity to economic reform and far more discredited now, linked mised (in President Clinton's in most people's minds with

But their show didn't fool any-

sis. The state is in no shape to implement any arms-control agreements. There is no working government. The ruble has lost half its value in recent days, and the stock market virtually all its value. Just as in the crisis days of early 1992, Russians are hoarding dollars and stockpiling staples. But there's a key difference: Terms such as "market reform" and "democratization" are

Russia has fallen into criseemed the more out of touch of Clinton also seemed to under-

conference. He claimed, improbably and without foundation,
"We have now adopted a program of stabilization measures."
He refused to discuss his nation's political crisis.

Mr. Clinton, on the other hand, acknowledged at least in part the seriousness of Russia's dilemma. He correctly warned against inflationary monetary policies, bailouts for "a privileged few" and inequitable treatment of creditors. Yet, in describing "a light at the end of support if such reforms | theft and corruption on a breathtaking scale.

The aging, erratic Mr. Yeltsin passed the needed laws, Mr.

tion to his remarks. Mr. Clinton was not wrong to

its constitutional framework thus far in this crisis provides some comfort. But no one should be misled about the dangers that lie shead. There are as many explanations as there are Russia experts of what went wrong in Moscow. But when it comes to prescriptions for setting things right, neither Russians nor outsiders right now seem to have much of an



threat called terrorism.

sm's best asset, in the final analy-

sis, is the fire in the bellies of its

young men, and that fire cannot be

basis for dealing with this nemesis,

why is it so difficult for our leaders

After the military strikes in Sudan

make its own rules for dealing with

this international problem. What

standing will we have in the future

complain about any other country

that attacks the territory of its

neighbor, citing as justification the

need to protect itself from terror-

ism? Did those who authorized these attacks think through the

ong-term implications of this short

ighted and dangerous precedent?

Let's get down to practical reali-

ties. The new threat we face is often

stateless, without sovereign terror-

ly or official sponsorship. Friendly

governments around the world -

especially those with large Muslim

opulations such as India, Pakistan,

Egypt, Turkey, Jordan, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Gulf states and the

new republics of Central Asia -

share a common need for internal

and regional stability. Terrorism is a

weapon that threatens all civil au-

dority. This set of circumstances

provides an unprecedented incen-

tive for intergovernmental coopera-

tion, even among states that may differ on other basic issues. But the

fight against a silent and hidden

common enemy requires infinite pa-

orcement agencies and intelligence

services. It demands absolute se

trecy, mutual trust and professional

respect. If the United States loses its

cool without warning, if it is seen by

others as a loose cannon that re-

sorts to sudden violent action on a

massive scale, the critically needed

My hunch is that the next time

cooperation will not be there.

to speak and act accordingly?

Barter Comes to Rescue in Russia

Sharon LaFraniere in Naro-Fominsk

CONOMISTS such Clifford G. Gaddy of the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., see barter as just another sign of a fiscal irresponsibility that is leading Russia to eco-

Here at the Narfomsholk fabric factory, though, barter also reflects the tenacity and ingenuity of Russians who are determined to survive the worst hardships, including ruble-short customers.

The factory, 50 miles southwest of Moscow, has produced rolls of fabric for 157 years. The long production lines inside its solid brick buildings make up the shabby town's economic core. Even cashless, it produces almost 5 million feet of fabric a month, worth about \$2.5 million, and employs around 2,500 workers.

It is awash in debt. But it is not nearly as badly off, for instance, as the toy factory in the same town. The director there says he can't pay anyone, despite frantic bartering, and is about to shut down.

Galina Orlova, the factory's commercial director, says Narfomsholk is in business thanks to its highly skilled, resourceful barter department of five engineers. They must work around a problem that would bankrupt any Western factory: Its principal customer, the Defense Ministry, doesn't pay "regularly," as

Orlova politely puts it. Since the 1991 breakup of the Soviet Union, the government has written off the factory's federal taxes in exchange for cloth for military uniforms. However, Narfomsholk's tax bill is less than the value of the fabric it provides, so it receives the remainder of its compensation in government securities Orlova says.

If the government has disavowed such debt swaps, word hasn't reached Narfornsholk.

"It's a victous circle," Orlova notes. The Ministry of Finance doesn't have money because businesses don't pay their taxes, and businesses don't pay their taxes because they can't produce their prod-Factory officials won't give details

about the securities the government hands over, but economists here say they are another abnormality of the system - promises by the government to forgive a certain amount of taxes. Companies then trade such

deals a month for the factory to hold products taken in through barter

So Orlova and her hunt-andgather crew must come up with other commodities to trade — lots of them. On her desk, Orlova keeps a list of the possibilities, specifically goods produced in the surrounding

The factory paid its telephone bill with a load of pay phones. Its local

white one.

system," he said.

our own new world," it reads. In a wholly unexpected way.

The simplest deal is the straight trade: fabric for chemicals, for instance. But none of the factory's creditors wants that much fabric month after month.

"For God's sakes, whatever," laughed Orlova, covering her eyes for a second. "Of course it would be much easier to work if we could use real money, but, well, we have to

"Nothing good comes out of this At closing time, the fabric factory

securities in lieu of money. It takes as many as 50 to 60 barter off its creditors and retain a small profit, said Orlova. The little cash it receives it uses to pay workers, though it encourages workers to take their salaries in goods. It also runs its own store, stocked with

Meat containers. Barbed wire. Boots. Souvenirs. Jewelry boxes. Concrete blocks. Water barrels, Furniture. Ironing boards. Outhouses.

use what we have."

tax bill with military guard shacks. The water bill was a tough one: The water department insisted on a light blue truck - the color of water, they explained — and the fabric factory could only track down a

Alexel Usanov, head of Electrosyet, the electricity provider, isn't very happy about Narfornsholk paying with utility poles instead of money. Almost all of his customers now pay in "mutual settlements," he said. "It's when papers move from place to place, and then people say that they do not owe each other any-

workers hurry past a four-story, brightly colored mosaic from the Soviet era. It depicts laborers marching down a path as Soviet state founder Vladimir Lenin looks on from a balcony. "We shall build



A heavy police presence greeted the Million Youth March in New York

Black Youth March Ends in Violence

Michael A. Fletcher In New York

THE controversial Million Youth March ended in a wild melee last Saturday, as hundreds of police officers in riot gear rushed the rally's speaking platform after the event ran minutes over its allotted time period.

As police approached the stage they were pelted with folding chairs, bottles, and heavy metal barricades by some march participants. The police retaliated with pepper spray and a massive show of force that allowed them to quickly secure the stage. Hundreds of police officers then moved through the march site, which was located along a six-block stretch of Malcolm X Boulevard in Central Harlem, and dispersed the estimated 20,000 people in atten-

Police were seen leading several people away from the stage. Minutes later, scores of officers on norseback and motorcycles moved In to take control of the march site. Afterward, police reported that five people received minor injuries in the outburst. The violence provided a stunning end to an event that had been a source of bitter controversy. For weeks, recriminations flew between the march's lead organizer,

New York City Mayor Rudolph Giu-liani, who labeled the planned event a "hate march."

But the rally, while laced with angry rhetoric, focused mostly on the need for black youth to unify and take responsibility for their communities. As a result, many participants were angered by the aggressiveness of the police.

"This was wild," said Philip Mason, a Brooklyn resident who attended the march. "It seemed like the police wanted to provoke this incident." Alan Edouard, a student at Columbia University, said "it looked like the police tried to rush the stage. They never gave them any time to leave.

Even before the melee, the atmosphere was tense as the rally site was lined by hundreds of police officers who controlled the crowd with metal barricades. That tension was heightened after some speakers spewed angry rhetoric at Jews, whites, and the many black leaders who opposed the march.

In the moments before the rally was ended, Muhammad stirred the crowd by telling them to defend themselves if they are attacked by police. "In self defense, if they attack you take their god-damn guns," Muhammad said. "You take their nightsticks . . . and ram them up

Albanians of partial autonomy

in 1989. Since then, he repeat-

the back of the stage, Muhamra appeared to be trying to wrap up event, telling police: "Back y asses up and we will leave in pear

The violent ending capped were of contention between march of nizers and city officials, who at it tried to block the march by refusto grant organizers a permit Maorganizers sued and a federal jud ruled that the march could be but that it had to be restricted four hours along a six-block six of Malcolm X Boulevard.

Much of the controversy rounding the march was the reof the lead role played by Mulmad, the former Nation of E official who gained promined through his fiery remarks insult Jews, Catholics, and even Sc. African President Nelson Mandel

In statements before the man Muhainmad repeated some of t statements that have made notorious, drawing sharp retalia: from Giuliani and other city offic who condemned Muhammad anyone who would attend his man

The march also has been tacked by a host of civil rights it. ers, who dismiss Muhammad & hate monger. Many of them backing a series of events in Atla. there on Monday.

But many guerrillas have

Under the current U.S. plan the aim is to deal with other lasues" besides indeper in a decade, one U.S. official

and authority of a future par-

Hard Target to Hit Y FIRST job for the CIA's at the Bureau know how hard it is to clandestine services 46 develop trust, and how quickly it

The United States cannot defeat terrorism with bombs

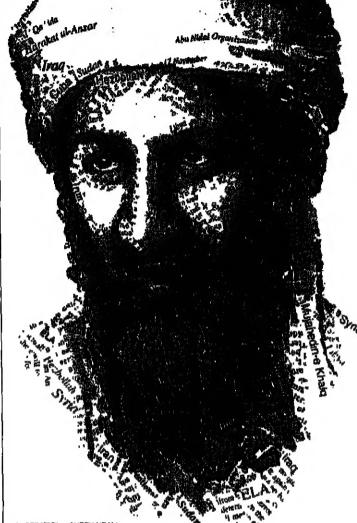
and bombast, argues ex-CIA man Raymond Close

L years ago was to organize can evaporate. squalid Palestinian refugee camps terrorism, the Clinton administration seems tempted to emulate Is of southern Lebanon - some, ironirael's failed example. Israel's situation is totally different from ours in every imaginable way. The state of Israel has been committed cally, barely a stone's throw from where my grandfather and greatgrandfather established American asion schools more than a hundred years ago. The camps and the for 50 years to a policy of massive and ruthless retaliation - deliber equalor are still there, no longer reeding grounds of communism as ately disproportional. "Ten eyes for they were in the 1950s, but of the an eye," the Israelis like to say, And still their policy fails, because they have not recognized that terrorism Most of us accept the premise will thrive as long as the Palestinian that terrorism is a phenomenon that can be defeated only by better population is obsessed with the inideas, by persuasion and, most imustice of their lot and consumed with despair. portantly, by amelioration of the onditions that inspire it. Terror-

Even those who approve in theory of using military retaliation as a weapon against terrorism would agree, I think, that launching unextinguished by Tomahawk mismanned missiles at distant targets siles. If intelligent Americans can as ill-defined as "the infrastructure of terrorism" is neither an effective accept that premise as a reasonable military strategy nor a credible deterrent against future criminal acts. This will be even more true when the adversary is armed some day and Afghanistan, U.S. officials justiwith cheap, do-it-yourself weapons fled their action by citing Osama bin of mass destruction. In our understandable (rustration, are we resortladen's "declaration of war" on ing to a modern form of the same everything American. But to launch missiles into countries with which "gunboat diplomacy" that proved so counterproductive for the dying Euwe are technically at peace — and to ropean empires at the end of the kill their citizens — is to declare that the United States is free to 19th century?

Over several years, the United States has tried vainly to control Iraq's behavior by launching similar kinds of stand-off strikes against Saddam Hussein. Very recently, our policymakers concluded that this wasn't working. So when Saddam Hussein again

defied the U.N. inspection regime a few weeks ago, we mumbled some weak excuses and pretended we hadn't noticed. Now, by launching attacks against suspected terrorist targets in Afghanistan and Sudan and threatening more violent retail-



dents, we have started down that same dead-end road. This move, seemingly inspired more by exasperation than cool reason, violates basic rules of both diplomacy and

President Clinton and others have labeled all Islamic terrorists as members or "affiliates" of the "Osama bin Laden Network of Ter-

fact, elevating bin Laden to that status only gives him a mantle of heroism now and, more ominously, will guarantee him martyrdom if he should die.

Informed students of the subject have known for years that although the various militant Islamist movements around the world share a common ideology and many of the rorism." This is, of course, the com- same grievances, they are not a mon mistake of demonizing one | monolithic international organiza-

tion. Our recent attacks, unfortunately, may have inflamed their common zeal and hastened their unification and centralization while probably adding hosts of new volunteers to their ranks. We are rolling up a big snowball.

The worst nightmare of our strategic military and security planners is that a small and weak enemy could hold us hostage by possessing a weapon of monstrous power, yet so insignificant in size and appearance that we cannot see it, cannot locate it, and therefore cannot attack and destroy it. The recent military strikes sent the message again, loudly and clearly, to all who would count themselves as our enemies: Accelerate your efforts to acquire new and deadly high-technology weapons — and manufac-ture and store those weapons in hard shelters in the midst of your civilian population. American policymakers and military planners have an obligation to evaluate every pro-posed action by the standard of whether it will help postpone the day when this nightmare may come true. I believe our leadership failed to do so before last month's opera-

Meanwhile, the bombing, porraved as necessary to forestall additional terrorist acts, has produced a level of public alarm in Washington that is precisely what the terrorists hoped to inspire. What have we done to ourselves?

What worries me most, in the final analysis, is that our attacks on the targets in Afghanistan and Sudan were reminiscent of what we call "vigilante justice" in American folklore. This kind of policy weakens our leadership position in the world and undermines the most effective defenses we will have against the terrorist threat: a commitment to the rule of law, dedication to fairness and evenhandedness in settling International disputes and a reputation as the

Raymond Close, who served in the CIA from 1951 to 1977, Is an International business consultant who travels frequently to the Middle

Mutual Funds

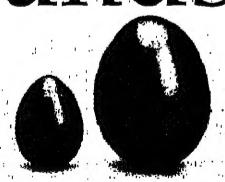
Invest in the world's top performing mutual funds through Bank of Copenhagen and save up to 71% on the initial fee. Safe custody free of charge.

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Kosovo Status Postponed in Talks

R. Jeffrey Smith in Rome

THE TOP U.S. negotiator for Kosovo mattera has won agreement from Yugoslavia's president and the province's senior elected ethnic Albanian leader to postpone discussion of Kosovo's long-term legal status, essentially bypassing the issue that most sharply divided the two politicians.

Christopher Hill, the U.S. ambassador to Macedonia, said he won support for the idea from Ibrahim Rugova, the head of Kosovo's largest ethnic Albanian political party, at a meeting last week in Pristina, capital of the Serbian province. Rugova is a long-standing advocate of resolving the Kosovo conflict peace-

Hill's meeting with Rugova came one day after a meeting with Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade that produced what Hill called a "procedural breakthrough" namely, a promise that any immediate deal on Kosovo could be re-examined and amended in three to five years.

months without concrete progress. Although the agreeforward, the parties to the conflict remain bitterly divided on most key issues.

Hill has been trying to broker a cease-fire and interim solution to the Kosovo conflict for three ment achieved is a modest step

Sources close to the armed thnic Albanian guerrillas who have been fighting to win Kosovo's independence and who oppose Rugova's leadership said that they thought the plan was a

Hill's strategy is to try to negotiate an interim deal allowing a degree of self-rule by the ethnic Albanians that compose 90 percent of Kosovo's population. But other U.S. officials have expressed skepticism that such a deal would be in the interests of the West, because Milosevic's behavior suggests he will not respect it and the West will have ittle leverage to enforce com-

pendence for Kosovo. But ethnic Albanians overvhelmingly say they want only independence, and the dispute has provoked six months of violence, produced the death of hundreds of ethnic Albanians and displaced more than 10 per

A key factor in resolving the dispute is the future posture of the armed guerrillas who have formed a loose-knit Kosovo Liberation Army. After a month of punishing battlefield losses by the rebels, U.S. officials now privately express scorn for the group's leadership and say its decisions are of little relevance Milosevic stripped the ethnic to the negotiations."

cent of the province's 2 million

expressed equal scorn for fear may become a sellout to

such as laying the ground for general elections in Kosovo and giving the resulting ethnic Albanian leadership local political autonomy for the first the

But he acknowledged that there remain many obsticles to an interim accord, among them a continued disagree about the presence of thous of heavily armed Serbian truck in Kosovo and about the shape.

we call for help (from Pakistan, for instance, whose very competent police work was evidently vital to the investigation of the Nairobi and Dar es Salaam bombings), the officials of that country's intelligence services vice who are responsible for discreet liaison with the CIA or the FBI will be conveniently "out to lunch."

My ex-colleagues at the Agency, and the experienced professionals

Controlling the flow of

kapital may be an idea

whose time has come

T WAS hard to know which was

the greater shock — the Finan-tist Times supporting capital controls or the New Statesman say-

ing it was time to bring back

reynes. But last week, as the global

cisis rumbled into Latin America

and sout tremors through Western

sock markets, one thing was clear:

As the bible of business, it was

only to be expected that the FT

would devote a leader to Malaysia's

exision to introduce wide-ranging

capital controls, Rather less pre-dictable was what the leader actu-allysald.

'Capital controls have become

my words in today's economic

thodoxy. But as the crisis in

Southeast Asia showed, unfettered

movement of capital can have devas

taing effects," it argued "Capital controls allow the de-linking of

domestic monetary policy from ex-change-rate movements. Under cer-

ain conditions, this could prove a

hay forward for the Asian crisis

Three caveats then followed, but

il the same this was pretty explo-

lion, now, is how to regenerate con-

Well yes, absolutely. But haven't

asser-faire stuff has for the time

So why the change of heart?

render of economic control from the

hale to the untrammelled market

has been an unmitigated disaster.

second, having been rumbled, that

delag gone out of the window.

change is in the air.

HERE are certain novels, few in number, that insinuate themselves into memory, not by the strength of portrayal of their characters or any vividness of style, but by a quiet relentlessness of in-sistence. Reading them is a faintly alarming sensation, like being trapped in a train compartment with someone whose gleaning gaze and fixed half-smile tell you even before the person begins to speak that this is going to be a long journey. You hide behind your newspaper in vain; there is a story that must be told, and you must listen, however resentful or bored or restless you may feel. Howard Norman's latest novel is an impressive and admirable achievement, which will buttonhole the reader from the first sentence: "The painting I stole for Imogen Linny, Jewess on a Street in Amsterdam, arrived at the Glace Museum, here in Halifax, on September 5

The speaker is DeFoe Russet. He is in his late twentles, and works as a guard in the Glace, a small, private institution. He shares the guardian-ship of the museum with his Uncle Edward, a vigorous eccentric, given to drinking and gambling and as much womanizing as the times will allow; Uncle Edward is — and is, I think, meant to be - the novel's most vital character. DeFoe, whose name would seem to have been enough misfortune for any one child, was orphaned at the age of 9 when his parents were killed in a zeppelin crash, and since that time Uncle Edward and his sporadic women friends have been the only family DeFoe has known.

The dozen or so pages at the opening of the book that describe the day of the accident are masterful. His parents, off to the fair for the zeppelin ride, have left young DeFoe at the Lord Nelson Hotel in the care of his uncle and his girlfriend, Altoon Markham (Norman has an odd way with names). When Uncle Edward goes off to receive the bad news of his brother's and his sister-in-law's deaths, the boy and Altoon must while away the hours of waiting, which is when DeFoe learns to iron shirts, thanks



downbeat, is so moving that after- | land and "become" the artist's wife wards it is hard for the book to recover its pace; in the hands of a lesser novelist, it would have been

DeFoe is, as might be expected, emotionally frozen; at moments of high drama and distress he will retreat to the basement of the Lord Nelson, where he lodges with his uncle, and take over the ironing from the understanding hotel laundress.

DeFoe meets the young woman mogen Linny, whose mother was Jewish, and who works as caretaker of the Jewish cemetery in Halifax. They begin a fitful and, for DeFoe, frustrating relationship, marked on his part by puzzled yearning, and on Imogen's by headaches and mysterious depressions. When an exhibition of contemporary Dutch paintings opens at the Glace, however, she becomes obsessed with one of them, "Jewess on a Street in Amsterdam". Imogen gradually comes to identify with the woman in the painting, has clothes made up to DeFoe learns to iron shirts, thanks match those worn by the model, and to Altoon. This sequence, however in the end determines to go to Hol-

Meanwhile the news from Europe is bad and getting worse. Uncle Edward too becomes fascinated by Imogen. Eventually tragedy strikes, and Imogen, seeking to cure her condition of having "become estranged from my very soul," goes off to Amsterdam, as the Nazi threat

A measure of this novel's richness and sly power is the difficulty one has in attempting to say just what it is about. One of the characters remarks of Imogen: "Watching her, I thought that one's personal history — Imogen's, that is — is so much more immediate than History writ large." And certainly The Museum Guard communicates far more vividly and affectingly than any factual account of the period could do the pathos of that fatal conjunction between the individual and the terrible machinery of the world which is so horribly exemplified for us by the fate of the Jews in this cen-Howard Norman has written a large

The Tallest Tale

Leo Carey

ZARAFA A Giraffe's True Story, From Deep n Africa to the Heart of Paris By Michael Allin Walker, 215pp. \$22

HE Medicis had one in the 15th century, Caesar had one in 46 B.C., and later Romans used to watch them being slaughtered at public games. But when the creature that Michael Allin calls Zarafa arrived in Paris in 1827, she was the first giraffe Europe had seen for almost three and a half cen-turies. A gift from Muhammad Ali, the viceroy of Egypt, to Charles X of France, she became an instant favorite with the French public, Herstory fascinated Allin so much that he retraced her 3,500-mile journey across two continents. His book, alternating between a detailed account of Zarafa's story and an illumination of the historical background against which it took place, not only rescues a charming anecdote from obscurity but also makes

a convincing case for its importance in the world of 19th-century Mediterranean diplomacy, Zarafa was born in 1824 in the highlands of what is now southeastern Sudan, but even before she was born her capture had been ordered. Muhammad Ali wanted a unique gift to affirm his friendship with France's new king, especially as Ali was about to make himself unpopudainful droop of her mouth. lar in Europe by invading Greece in support of the Turks. France had been Egypt's best friend in Europe ever since Napoleon conquered the country in 1798 and intellectually

FTER this heady climax of arrival, the story talls off From Muhammad All's point view the gift was a failure. Though his army defeated the Greeks while Zarafa was walking through France, the European powers signed a treaty against him, and his fleet was destroyed in the Greek, port of Navarino later that year. Charles X had only three years to enjoy his giraffe before he was forced to abdicate and spend the rest of his life in exile. Zarafa, meanwhile, lived out her days peacefully in the Jardin des Plantes.

trust for people, a feature that earned her the affection of many of those who encountered her. Then she was taken on a barge up the Nile, via Khartoum and Cairo to Alexandria, a route that, as Allin points out, was also a conduit for Muhammad Ali's other big export, African slaves. Allin's detailed re-creation of the journey draws on rewhom, one feels, might well

search among records in Caire, THE DIN of fighter planes and where every command Muhammad jumbo jets buzzing the crowd at All uttered in his 40-year reign is the Farnborough Air Show this

written down.

From Alexandria, Zarafa sailed to the doubt doubt of the sail from European aeroMarseilles, her body in the hold pace industry executives, whose her head sticking out through a record year has all but silenced hole in the deck. So important was their United States rivals.

Zarafa considered that France and their United States rivals. Zarafa considered that France's prePassenger jets are this year's key
eminent naturalist, Eticane Geof froy Saint-Hilare, was sent to supervise her transit to Paris. Weighing up the many ways of getting a giraffe from Marseilles to Book and the world of passenger important customer in its 28-year Paris, all of them difficult, he and the prefect decided that the sin plest means was to walk her on a leash in short daily stages. So began the spectacle of the giralfe on lour. Capitalism on a fast road to ruin drawing bigger and bigger crowds n the provincial towns on her route. In Lyon 30,000 people (a third of the population) turned out to see the exciting novelty.

Once she reached Paris, girafformania took hold of a fashion-obsessed public hungry for exotic novelty. The giraffe's image and its distinctive patterning found their way onto soaps and plates, jeweln and gingerbread, topiary and gen tlemen's cravats. Fashionable women wore their hair "a la Girate." its architecture so huge "they had to ride on the floor of their carriages Allin's book reproduces several contemporary paintings of Zarata. which seem to emphasize the beauty and grace in her large calm eyes and the aristocratic, almost dis-

She died in 1845 and Allin dogged to the last, tracks down her stuffed form to a museum in La Rochelle, where she resides among other historical curiosities such as a dodo skeleton and Marie Antoinette's pet orangutan, each of

China" and give testimony to list of his presents to the Qist China's "capacity to stimulate and to emperor that it was said to include humans less than a foot high and an

from Montesquieu, Voltaire and Leibniz explain China's perceived stagnation through a preoccupation with the past and the difficulty of the language. "Women observers (missionary wives but also jane Austen, whose brother travel there) include Eva Jane Price, who lost two small sons to disease before she was killed in the 1900 Boxer Re-

To what does this add up? Spence is of little help here, calling the West's receptivity to things Chinese "a mystery." But if there is a mes

Airbus outstrips Boeing to become Top Gun

1903, spawning an industry that now carries 1.5 billion people a year. Europe's four-nation Airbus outfit - a British-French-German-Spanish consortium — is in the threes of a double celebration.

First, Airbus overtook Boeing i the first six months of the year win 52 per cent of all the orders for passenger aircraft placed by the world's airlines and leasing compa-nies — 287 compared with Boeing's

flying ever since the Wright brothers made the first powered flight in 1903, spawning an industry that

job last week after a nightmare year that saw the company so over-stretched with orders that it was forced to suspend production of the 747 and the 737 and report its first financial loss for 50 years.

boom in orders, develop several new aircraft and absorb McDonnell ouglas — all at once.

Boeing's planes are top-quality, their safety record is good and its salespeople are second to none. But its production facilities badly need In contrast, Boeing's commercial modernising. They are less effi-aircraft boss, Ron Woodard, lost his clent, with lower levels of technology, than those of the younger

Avery said: "Most Boeing production facilities are based on techniques that date from the days of building bombers for World War Two. The boys in Seattle are fixing Chris Avery, aviation analyst at Banque Paribas, said Boeing's problems had arisen because it tried to guns. At Airbus it's all done by com-

HE powerful American hedge fund Long-Term Capital has reported a loss of \$2.1 billion last month, wiping out 44 per cent of its asset base. It had been racking up annual gains of more than 50 per cent for wealthy investors since it was founded in 1994. It came unstuck in as investors, seeking safe havens as markets tumbled hifted into more conservative US treasury bonds.

ITACHI announced that it will post a net group loss of 250 billion yen (\$1.7 billion) for the current financial year — its first slide into the red since 1947 and underlining the desperate circumstances facing Japan's manufacturing industry Japan's largest electrical machinery maker was predicting a profit of 40 billion yen as ecently as three months ago.

SHELL and Texaco an-nounced plans to merge their European oil-refining and petrol station businesses in an attempt to cut costs, as the industry struggles to cope with the lowest oil price for a decade. The Petrol Retailers' Association said the deal signalled further ob losses and forecourt closures across Europe.

B ROWN & Williamson, a subsidiary of the British conglomerate BAT, may have broken the luw by urging tobacco executives to hold back internal documents, according to the US Justice Department, which is pursuing criminal investigations against several leading American tobacco companies. The US government is focusing on whether Brown & Williamson lied to the Food and Drug Administration and other government agencies about nicotine levels in its cigarettes.

B RITISH drugs group Zeneca was given the go-ahead to market the world's first anticancer drug for healthy patients. The company's tamodifen compound, developed 25 years ago, was approved by US drugs regulators as an effective reventive treatment for women at risk of developing breast

FOREIGN EXCHANGES Sterling rates Sterling rates September 7 August 24

2.8210-2.8274 | 2.8259-2.8296 20.25-20.26 20,71-20,73 59.34-59.48 60.67-60.72 2.5363-2.5395 2.5388-2.5392 10.94-10.95 11,20-11,22 9.647-9.657 9.88-9.87 2.8780-2.8804 2.9438-2,9466 12.92-12.93 12.69-12.70 Hong Kong 1.1457-1.1503 2,842-2,845 2,903-2,905 219.63-219.93 Netherlande 3.2483-3 2519 3.3193-3.3219 3.2760-3.2834 3.3279-3.3345 12.85-12.85 12,82-12,83 294.82-294.88 301.33-301.65 244.31-244.54 249.81-250.03 13.22-13.24 13.49-13.61 2.3534-2.3565 2.4690-2.4618

1.4624-1.4846 1.4909-1.4927

FT8E100 Share Index down 208.7 at 8047.0. FT8E 250

Index down 308.9 at 4747.1. Gold up \$4.00 at \$258.78.

The Lure of the Middle Kingdom

THE CHAN'S GREAT CONTINENT China in Western Minds By Jonathan D. Spence Norton. 279pp. \$27.50

NE measure of a country's tion of others. His new book offers a cornucopia of evidence for the West's fascination with China. Here is China glimpsed in the writings of traders, diplomats, missionaries, novelists, poets and adventurers. Some of these writers never visited China: others lived and died there. Some studied the language, most did not. For some, China was a cen-

others (like Marco Polo, who failed to mention tea, calligraphy, or footbinding) may not have been writing about China at all.

Their images of China, or what Spence calls "sightings," are so marvelously varied and inconsistent Ogreatness, argues Jonathan that he concludes, "The secret lies Spence, is its hold on the imagination in the ear, the ear that hears both in the ear, the ear that hears both what it wants and what it is expecting." Surely there are lessons here concerning Western perceptions of Ching in our own time, which also, all too often, reveal more about the observer than the observed.

This slim and (because Spence hoped to avoid a catalogue effect) deliberately less-than-comprehensive volume skims across the material tral preoccupation; for others, it was a lens through which to refract Great Continent is an entertaining other concerns. Some wrote of Journey through longing, desire, mis-China, others (like Mark Twain and | understanding, fear and revulsion.

Spence's 48 selections, arrayed There is not enough on Karl Marx and his controversial hypothesis about a stagnant "Asiatic Mode of Production," which caused theoreti- | and beyond reach. cal headaches for his Chinese communist followers. Here are poignant accounts by missionaries in Han Chinese areas, but nothing from

> One might cavil at the inclusion of "sightings" from literary figures and philosophers whose knowledge of China was secondhand at best. Yet it is not Spence's purpose to draw conclusions over accuracy. Rather, he "seeks to give a sense of | toward foreigners was pronounced: the multiplicity of intellectual and Britain's Lord Macartney found emotional attitudes that Westerners | himself "narrowly watched," his cuhave brought to their attempts to riosity about China unwelcome. China has provided the deal with the china triosity about China unwelcome. deal with the phenomenon of Local rumor so wildly distorted the tradictory impulses and tendencies

those who served among ethnic mi-

focus creative energies at specific moments in time." In this sense, the elephant the size of a cat. book is a fascinating exploration of across 700 years, from 1253 to 1985. | the diversity of cross-cultural response. The China of the Western mind is a source of endless curiosity, but ultimately it is unknowable Spence's grab-bag includes early

colonized it. Muhammad Ali, whose

reign began in 1805, was more than

happy to sell off "ancient debris" (as

he called such items as the Rosetta

stone and the obelisk from Luxor

that is now in the Place de la Con-

corde) in order to generate revenue

to modernize his kingdom. Captured at 2 months old, Zarafa

was taken to Sennar where she was

kept for a while to gain strength and

"sightings" from Marco Polo. Catholic missionaries and the first Portuguese and British diplomats, as well as words from Franz Kafka, Italo Calvino and Jorge Luis Borges. As diplomats struggled with the issue of ritual bowing before the enperor, Christians argued over whether ancestor worship was a significant violation of their morality. In the late 19th century, ambivalence

bellion. Her "sighting" conveys the polgnant isolation of a foreigner's life in the Shanxi hinterlands.

sage in this kaleidoscope of images,



for Russia there will doubtless be much talk about how the system is basically sound. This is nonsense. It is like putting an inexperienced driver in a high performance car and giving him a huge incentive to get from A to B as quickly as possible.

For true believers there is noth-

we stuff. Nor was the FT alone. Bays earlier, the Swiss daily Neue Unicher Zeitung, the newspaper real by the "gnomes" of Zurich, ing wrong with this. The markets know best, even when time horisid the financial crisis had become zons can be measured in minutes sobad that the "poison cabinet" had and the sums involved are staggerble opened and exchange controls ing. But this can only be true under certain circumstances. To return to The voice of the Swiss banking our boy racer, providing his car was Volem added that financial markets travelling across the Australian eteded reflationary stimuli. But in desert on an open road for a thouthe current panic-stricken environsand miles, there would be no probment, any such move "would trigger | lem in putting his foot down. If the

is another confidence crisis in the future is predictable, the system financial markets. The key ques automatically corrects itself. Keynesians have always argued that the real world is not like that. Roads have corners and become we been told for the past 20 years clogged up with vehicles and pedeshat markets are self-stabilising, and trians. The reality for most of us is that any attempts to curtail capital fiberalisation is both counter-pronot peering out of the window to spot the odd kangaroo bounding ductive and vain? Apparently all that

across the outback but driving, nose to tail, around busy motorways. All of us know that roads need strict rules and cars need good First, it is quite clear that the surbrakes. We have been persuaded, however, that all the global capital markets need is the very lightest touch on the tiller.

Without brakes, the system has international capital is prepared to careered into an all-too predictable make a few concessions now rather han face tougher controls later. pile-up. Countries now have a sage in this kaleidoscope of intermediate the controls later.

It is that, from the first contact. When the Group of Seven Industrial is that, from the first contact. When the Group of Seven Industrial is slowly using high interest rates to choice: either to crawl along very slowly using high interest rates to choice the speculators happy or to reslowly using high interest rates to this week to discuss a rescue plan install the car's brakes. Unsurpris-

For Malaysia and Russia — which have decided they have had enough of speculation - it is undoubtedly the right decision. The real need for Malaysia is for lower interest rates, which will allow the recapitalisation of the bombed-out banking system. This cannot possi-bly happen if lower rates lead to hot money leaking offshore.

Similarly with Russia. As Mark Horn and Richard Harrison of stockbroker T Hoare put it last week, Russia needs a domestic credit bank to help turn the country from a barter to a monetary economy. However, it can only do this

ing to those countries doing things by the book, it is not hard to see why there is a growing mood for change. Indonesia, which has had the full International Monetary Fund treatment over the past year, is suffering from an alarming increase in unemployment, a precipitous fall in school enrolment and a reversal of the anti-poverty pro-

gramme of the past 30 years. A few months ago, Malaysia and Russia would have been pilloried as extremists for daring to challenge the orthodoxy. But the truth is that the orthodox approach to the current crisis has not worked. The IMF is running out of money, running out

of ideas and running out of friends. meltdown was a problem of trans- cial anarchy.

needed was to improve the flow of information to the market.

speech in Chicago earlier this year: "It is worth observing that some of the countries with the weakest financial sectors, the greatest lack of transparency, and the most corrupt political structures, were hardly touched by the contagion from East Asia. These were countries with closed, or at least more closed, capital accounts.

This was not the end of Stiglitz's leviation from the orthodoxy. He argued that restructuring done the IMF way could lead to havoc, and in turn credit crunches, contributing to the insolvency of firms that other-

Stiglitz said that there was a need to design "financial systems that buffer the economy against shocks rather than magnify the shocks ...

The Stiglitz view of the world is entirely sensible. His argument is that if governments and the IMF have to bail out countries after a crlsis has occurred, it would be more sensible to prevent the crisis happening in the first place.

The problem is not a shortage of economists with Ideas for re-regulating capital, but with a lack of political will and political courage at a time when there is a desperate need for governments to break with the economic orthodoxy of the past 25 years and to face up to the twin Initially, it was said that the Asian perils of deflation and global fluan-

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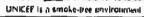
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Afish the size of a barn door is facing extinction. But if

we failed to notice this until it was almost too late. how many other species are disappearing? What we do mow, says Tim Radford, is that the massacre of

A BIG fish is about to swim away — for ever. The barndoor skate Raja levis seems name for each of about about 1.7 or 1.8 million species. But there is no central catalogue dose to extinction. In 1951, research r inventory. So the same species might be recorded under one idenships found it in 10 per cent of all tity in one country and under an travis of the St Pierre Bank in the Atlantic ocean off Newfoundland, entirely separate name in another. Over the past 20 years, none have Where scientists have checked, they have found "synonymy" in perleen caught there. The barndoor date grows to a metre across, not haps 20 per cent of cases. So the something you would miss if you true number of species that have were looking out for it. But nobody been described and named is perwas. Failure to examine historical haps 1.4 million. has resulted in the largest Then researchers began to look a date in the North Atlantic being little harder. They spread nets driven to near extinction without myone noticing," say researchers. something the size of a barn door

species is likely to be worse".

the and the tools we use have been

is blined for us by 500 million wars of evolution. Yet we know

rectically nothing about most of

m. We even lack a starting point.

ho knows how many small fry are

Creatures are being erased from

ik's register faster than anyone can

* second them. All the evidence is that

aumans are extinguishing other life

are no tallymen to count the dead,

orms on an epic scale. But there

r take the measure of the living:

there are probably only about 7,000

speris - they are called taxono-

his, or sometimes systematists —

on the whole planet with the author-

another. Most are in the wrong

places. And few have been getting

much encouragement. Without

them we cannot even begin arguing.

It was not until 1758 that Carl Lin-

aleus, the great Swedish taxono-

nist began counting the animal

by to distinguish one species from

sing dished?

under trees, dusted them with insecticide and counted just the arthropods (including insects) that fould slip away without being fell out. The numbers astonished missed "the fate of little known them. When they got to 50,000, they started to get alarmed: by that reck-The things that make life possible oning there might be 20 million we barely visible. Laboratory experispecies to be described, rather than ments based on small, artificial million. What was true for the worlds keen demonstrating that Amazon rainforest turned out to be diversity is life's strongest card. The equally true for coral reefs and manrecycling of air and water and plant nutrients is the business of little restures most of us never notice. The food we eat, the medicines we

But taxonomists are oppressed y something darker than the task of counting. What is going on now is described, quite calmly, as "the sixth great extinction". The fossil record is a pattern of evolution and extinction, with species continuously evolving, flourishing and expiring as naturally as individuals are born, develop and die. Imposed on this hubbub of appearance and disappearance is a series of dramatic happenings: mass disappearances, followed by new beginnings, at least five times in the past 500 million

The last of these was 65 million years ago, when a 10km asteroid whacked into the Yucatan in Mexico. The change now is less dramatic but no less significant. According to some theorists, half of all the creatures with which humans share the planet could be about to steal away into the eternal night, simply because their homes are being destroyed. By humans. The world's dwindling tropical forests could be losing creatures at the rate of 27,000 a year - three creatures an hour -

tingdom. French and British natand historians followed, and estabat the most conservative estimate. ished a systematic way of The precision of these figures is interrogating a creature's nature in disputed, but the truth behind them order to make a family connection. is not. During the past century birds the course of 240 years, they esand mammals have been disappearablished a local habitation and ing at an average rate of one a year. | in just a limited selection of groups. | most medicines — from aspirin for

Life's rich tapestry

Animal detectives

Biodiversity: tearing up the map of creation

Natural remedies

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This is already a thousand times | They gave up. There were simply faster than the "background" rate of extinction. It is confirmed by crude counts made by the conservation groups: a tenth of all flowering plants are about to disappear, a tenth of all birds on the planet are seriously endangered, many of the big mammal groups — the cats, in particular - could be about to disappear. But 99 per cent of creation is less than 3mm long. Most of the smaller species will be gone before

scientists find out they were here. So taxonomy's high command decided to stake out small areas of forest or savannah and simply sample the local life, quick headcounts of this and that species. Such a British project in the Cameroon came to an abrupt end only last year. Scientists had marked out a few hectares of already well-studied forest and had begun to catalogue all the creatures

too many species to count. "We could have carried on, but we would have needed many more taxonomists and systematists," says John Lawton, of London's Imperial

College and president of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds. There's the rub. "The global workforce, considered to number 7,000 systematists, is clearly inadequate," says Stephen Blackmore, keeper of botany at the Natural History Museum in London. Work by taxonomists involves travel to far-

away places on budgets that simply don't stretch very far. Biodiversity is a matter of naked human self-interest. Human economy rests on plants. Crops and their wild relatives have to be understood and conserved, and that means the insects that prey on them must also be understood. Plants that provide

 have developed the chemicals they possess as a response to their co-evolution with insects. There could be billions of dollars of useful. valuable, exploitable knowledge to be gained from almost unknown creatures in their habitats. Last year Cornell scientists calcu-

headaches to taxol for breast cancer

lated that if humans had to pay for the services they received free from nature - pollination, water purification, crop pest control, that sort of thing - the bill would be \$2.9 million million annually. Fellow creatures are a kind of map of creation.

"Just knowing how many species there are is like having proper maps of the stars," says John Lawton: "It's exactly the same for a proper science of ecology and evolution and many areas of blology. We need to know how many organisms there are, what they are, and where they

AIRPORT China crosses a political watershed T Day/24hr Service WHEN rain falls on a facility of the control o

the limbs, soaks into mosses BIG APPLE CAR HIRE and spinlytes, swells into the under-

sosphere. Multiply the process by the millionfold, and you can see why Cologists say that a forest acts as a iwing its release. A forest saves taler where it matters most in that hydrologists call the water

break the force. The rain rips away | nal moment. Environmental camhuge quantities of topsoil and cartowth and soaks about the roots to ries it away as silt into the rivers. come absorbed by the tree, writes These run through plains that are of thing for decades. What was difhomes to hundreds of millions, so | ferent was that, for the first time, a On a hot day, a tree will "drink" rivers such as the Yangtze, the Yel- government had actually said so too Significant of water an hour; most of low and the Mississippi are banked one that speaks for almost or low and the Mississippi are banked on the people on the planet.

According to the Worldwatch river bed, raising river levels and

taken thousands of lives, destroyed They also alleviate drought. It takes supper — the next.

WHEN rain falls on a forest, it | But when heavy rain hits bare | happened because China's forests | splashes on the leaves, runs | landscapes, there is nothing to | have been cut down. It was a semipaigners, foresters and water engineers had been saying this sort - one that speaks for almost one-

of China's grain is now grown on irrigated land. So China - any agricultural country, in fact -- has two

But there is a third reason. By breaking the force of the rains, trees also slow soil erosion. This is now at calamitous levels worldwide. Farmers in Africa, Asia and South America lose 40 tons of topsoil per According to the Worldwatch In- hectare every year. This is 40 times making flooding ever more likely.

I last week the government of the forests of the Yangtze river the stuff flowing down the furbid.

Solution is release. A forest across a substantial making flooding ever more likely.

Last week the government of the forests of the Yangtze river the stuff flowing down the furbid.

Solution is release. A forest across a substantial mediate every year. This is 40 times in the faster than it can possibly form. So the forests of the Yangtze river the stuff flowing down the furbid. strophic floods which have now forests do more than prevent floods. sor soup today is also tomorrow's

tens of millions of hectares of crops, | of grain, When a forest "holds" | The Chinese have now banned | propriate."

water it also slowly releases water in logging in the upper Yangtze. But the dry season. Around 70 per cent | there is a more powerful reckoning to come. In the past 12 years, another billion mouths have been added to the world's population. reasons for wanting to keep its | Crop yields are not keeping pace. But population continues to grow The world will need at least 200 million new hectares of cropland in the next 30 years to feed the planet. But there are only 93 million hectares available for farms to expand into and most of these are forested. '

Chinese will dam the floods if they take one decision, and damn themselves if they take another. Political pundits have a word for defining supper - and the next day's, and | moments like this one. They call it a watershed. It could not be more ap-

6 Eps second-floor window ledge, leaning out backwards as if balancing a sailboard against a hard ever, have exacerbated congestion wind. One hand grips the rickety clutches a long pole, on the end of which a paintbrush is tied. Oblivious of the seething Chinatown traffic below him, which will flatten him if the fall doesn't kill him, he is repainting the façade of his shop-house.

Similar scenes are now commonplace throughout Kuala Lumpur, They are part of the "beautification" drive being undertaken to prepare this city, which normally is more concerned with growth and development than aesthetics, for September's Commonwealth Games.

Owners and tenants of premises anywhere near the Games Village, on major thoroughfares and in areas frequented by visitors, are being urged to spruce up their buildings. The change is most noticeable in Chinatown, in the heart of Kuala Lumpur, where shorhouses which have been quietly mouldering for years have sud-denly had a face-lift of blue, cream, white or pink paint. Neighbours which have not yet had the treatment demonstrate the "before" situation: flaking plaster, deep green lichen below leaking gutters, and the odd bush growing out of a

Like all face-lifts, however, these | tidy and embarrassing". are only skin-deep. Behind the façades the interiors are still strabby; heaps of onlons, dried fish and garlic spill out on to the pavements, which are an obstacle course of changing levels; peel piles up around fruit-sellers' stalls; and the energetic market leaves the usual rubbish. Chinatown is too grubbily alive to be turned into a sanitised

Elsewhere the city's parks, landscaped areas and highway borders. always well planted and immaculate, are having their lilies gilded. Gardeners, wearing floppy straw hats against the sun, are constantly sweeping, weeding, grass-trimming and planting. A hoarding which has been bordering a main road for months, if not years, has suddenly disappeared to reveal a whole new addition to the Lake Gardens, with pavilions, trees, flowers and shrubs. lately, trees have also been planted along several suburban highways.

Some of the roads themselves have been beautified. Kuala Lumpur

MAN stands on a crumbling is building two light rail systems second-floor window ledge, and a monorail to relieve its desperate road congestion. These, howon some major arteries as lanes have been coned off for the projects. The remaining lanes, burdened with even more traffic than usual, are increasingly smashed up.

> The monorail caused the worst iams. Even when work on it was suspended in the economic crisis, the ones stayed put. Now, seemingly overnight, its on-site equipment has disappeared, the cones have been removed and the scarred lanes alongside it have been resurfaced. The affected roads have reverted to a width and smoothness almost for gotten, with a suddenness almost

> A drive against littering is under way. On-the-spot fines, publicawareness campaigns, and new green plastic litter bins have been introduced. It takes time for attitudes to change, though, and so far there's little change in the amount

Even laundry has come under official scrutiny. Large, functional blocks of flats provide cheap housing for many, and the plain buildings are usually brightened by lines of colourful washing strung from their utilitarian balconies. The city is urging the residents not to dry laundry on their balconies during the Games, since the effect is "un-KL's ubiquitous hawker stalls

haven't escaped the onslaught. They are an institution, providing not only cheap, good food round the clock, but also an important place

Plans to incarcerate them all food centres before the Games have been only partially implemented but since early this year all hawkers are supposed to have attended food hygiene courses. Local authorities have been making spot-checks to verify cleanliness, with hawkers who don't come up to scratch losing their permits until they clean up

Recently all the hawker booths in our local "Rat Alley" closed down without warning. Huge consterna-tion followed. Was this for ever? Where else, nearby, to go for satay, kway teow, nasi campur, mee goreng, fish-head curry and murtabak? To widespread relief they've now reopened, with new and uniform booths. The rats aren't

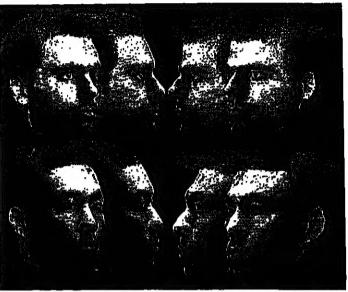
A Country Diary

MUSKOKA, ONTARIO: Heading into the nearest town, Huntsville, we saw a large animal standing beside the road. As it was poised to bound across, slowing seemed prudent. Could it be a large black dog? Its shape scemed wrong. A wolf? I've heard of black wolves. As it took a loping stride across

the two-lane highway, it came into focus. A light-coloured snout, pointed furry ears, sleek black fur fluffing out slightly from the body. an arched back, forelegs longer | many doubtless succumb. This thin than rear; an ambling, ground-eat | chap displayed no dearth of energy. ing gait, combined to spell a small | He cleared the Tarmac in two leaps, black bear (Ursus americanus). Too | slid rapidly down the embankment, old to call a cub and yet far too puny | and disappeared into the greento be fully adult, it was reminiscent | brown wall of trees and brush.

eanness have resulted from an adoescent growth spurt? Wild food is plentiful. The berry crops our ursine friends use to help bulk up for hibernation are abundant. If local lore is right, heavy berry yields mean a long winter to come. The bear might be an orphan

wine glass by singing at a par-ticular pitch and volume? Hunters sometimes shoot a mother, leaving cubs to fend for themselves Local organisations like the Aspen ↑ RECENT article in the German Valley Wildlife Sanctuary can someweekly Die Zeit stated that turn of the century and, therefore, there is no documented instance of | that it is unreasonable to blame times rescue them and feed them back to health and release, but wife Dorothy always denied it. Wolfgang Eisenmenger, a Stuttgart physicist, breaks glasses in his lec-



Male faces 'morphed' to stress feminine, left, and masculine traits

Men taken at face value

DESEARCHERS into human heauty have a shock for Macho Man and New Lad today. Men prefer women who look feminine. But Leonardo di Caprio has the edge over Arnold Schwarzenegger: women prefer men who look a bit

David Perrett of the University of St Andrews caused a stir four years ago when he and colleagues analysed the lips, chins, noses and eyebrows of large groups of British and Japanese women and "morphed" them into average faces and then used computers to make the faces "prettier" to test for attrac-

Now, reports Nature magazine, he has taken the research further,

WHAT was the longest single construction project ever

successfully carried through by

THIS is complicated by the fact

that there are lots of unfinished

or recently finished churches that

were started in the 13th-15th cen-

turies. For example: the Duomo of

Florence (started in 1294, finished

in 1887, taking 593 years); Santa

Croce in Florence (1294-1863); San

Petronio in Bologna (started in 1390, still not finished).

If the church has been built on

the foundations of a previous struc-

ture, then one could take the begin-

ning of the earlier structure as the

starting date, San Pietro (St Peter's) was first

started by Constantine in 322 on the

graveyard supposed to be the burial

place of Peter. It was finished in

Vatican has been extended and re-

arranged up to the present day, giv-

ing a time span of 1,676 years.-

SIT really possible to break a

David Singmaster, London

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

human biology: why men and women are more alike than differ-

Male apes are much bigger than female ages. Male birds of paradise are gorgeous and females are not. Stags have big antiers, but does do not. But human males and females are quite close in size and often in facial detail. This time Dr Perrett and his col-

leagues created "average" Scottish and Japanese male and female faces, again "morphed" them into more feminine and more masculine versions and showed them to volunteers in both countries. The outcome was the same whether the lapanese were shown Scots faces. or Japanese, and vice versa. There was a universal idea of female attractiveness — the more feminine ver-

of the frequency of the glass. The

most 100 phons - this is acousti-

cally 120 times less powerful than

the tone Eisenmenger uses. -

Bruce Collins, Kiel, Germany

then be forced to take it to the high est level — in the State of Nevad the bug has been declared, for legal purposes, "an act of God". — Rack! Sullivan, Editor, Financial Section Technology magazine, London

FTHE millennium bug were to cause many catastrophes and fatalities, would it be possi ble to prosecute individuals and companies involved in the com-

puter and software business? THE real difficulty will be in prov I ing whose fault any possible in juries resulting from system failures are. For example, Britain's National Health Service has identi fied a problem with a program that automatically administers intra-

venous drugs. On the first day of read the date as 1900, and make an immediate safety shutdown, If a situation such as this ends up with a patient fatality, proving culpability will be a tricky job, and the buck is unlikely to stop with the person who wrote the program. If an organisation is using lots of very old systems, the computer supplier could claim that the system was

person bursting a glass with the | them. The patient is likely to sue the power of her or his voice. Caruso is NHS, and who they will sue is unrumoured to have done so, but his clear — the only certainty is that it will be a litigation nightmare. Perhaps the NHS will sue the physicist, breaks glasses in his lectures using a tone of 120 phons | Government for not giving them | The Notes & Queries webs tures using a tone of 120 phons | enough funds to deal with the prob- | http://nq.guerdlan.co.uk/

never designed to last beyond the

tuned to within one tenth of a hertz | 1em in time. The Government ma

Any answers?

THERE has been a great deal of hype about new words added to the lexicon in three recently published dictionaries but what about old words? Which words — if any — have been removed? — Sue Lester,

JAVING recently visited Austria, I noticed that the diet on offer seemed to be a lo meat and dairy products than typical in the UK. I this true and does it have any effect on the population? -- Pt Wright, Basildon, Essex

WHY is it only the finger the and toes that go wrinkly when you have been in the bat too long? Would the rest of me go wrinkly if I stayed in the hall longer? — Steve Baldock, Abn Dhabi, United Arab Emirales

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/+44171-242-0985, or post to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Fant don Road, London EC1M3H0 The Notes & Queries website \$8

Not too much testosteron di Caprio beats Schwarzenegger

voted against the ultra-male faces. Dr Perrett thinks faces reveal a lot about fitness as a sexual partner.

Pestosterone forced male facial features — jaws and eyebrows — to be come larger. Women liked a face which spoke of testosterone, but not too much:

ultramasculine faces were voted less attractive. Testosterone course relates to behaviour, and some of the behavioural attributes one associates with high testos terone are not so pleasant," he says. The study suggests that what

women looked for in a face might be the gentleness necessary in a parent and provider. A study of 4,000 US servicemen revealed that those with the highest testosterone levels were least likely to marry, and if they did were more prone to violence in the home and more likely to divorce. Dr Perrett's findings may explain why male humans have evolved to be more graceful, than say, male gorillas.

The research explains why, to women. Leonardo di Caprio is a bigger star than Arnold Schwarzeneg ger. But it does not answer all the questions. "We are talking about the majority of women the majority the time. In future we ought to loo at the variation in the tastes of indiGUARDIAN WEEKLY

Fleet Street's last baron

past. In 1940 his father, Esmond, had inherited the viscountcy and

the papers, but little of his father's

The son watched unhappily as the

father made mistake after mistake.

But in 1956 he forged the friendship

that was to be the key to his future good fortune. He helped the Daily

Sketch's features editor, David Eng-

lish, to launch a win-a-pub competi-

tion. Meanwhile Vere fumed on the

sidelines as his father, even when

suffering from Alzheimer's, refused

and uncle's magic touch.

ord Rothermere

last of the old-style newspaper barons, who has died aged 73, was a mass of contradictions. He enjoyed the power of an autocrat but preferred to delegate. He knew what his papers should contain but had little clue how to achieve it. He proclaimed his love for Britain yet lived abroad to save paying British taxes. He was an passionate advocate of family values yet lived openly, until his first wife's death, with his mistress.

ORD ROTHERMERE, the

He believed in the need for pri vacy yet did nothing to discourage his editors from intruding into other people's. He paid lip service to respect for shareholder democracy while revelling in a stock arrangement which gave him total control of the company. He acted like a Tory and ensured his papers supported the Tories, but declared recently that he had never been a Tory and last year decided to take the Labour whip in the Lords.

Even by the standards of his extraordinary family and the eccentricitles we have come to expect from members of his class, the flamboyant third Viscount Rothermere was a remarkable character. At turns he was courteous and cold. charming and inforiating, coming and naive. Most of all, he loved to make mischief and it was this which concealed the answer to the question which so many posed about him: was he a very smart man who pretended to be otherwise, or a

very stupid one who got lucky? As the journalist Lynn Barber memorably pointed out in one of the rare interviews he gave, the "common verdict is that he is twice as clever as he looks, but only half as clever as he thinks". Certainly, it was obvious to everyone that Rothermere owed a great deal of his success to the man whose death he was still mourning when he died himself; Sir David English.

Rothermere was devastated at inglish's unexpected death in June. e regarded his former Daily Mail editor not only as a colleague but as a close friend. The secret of their many accomplishments lay in the omplex dynamics of their partner ship and it was to Rothermere's credit that he recognised that fact Many other powerful proprietors, lured by giant egos into believing their empires depend alone on them, have been too ready to jetti son equally talented people.

Vere Harmsworth was born into hewspapers. His great-uncle, Lord Northcliffe, and his grandfather, the first Lord Rothermere, between them had created a mighty Fleet Street empire with a str including the Daily Mail, Daily Mir-ror, the Times, the Sunday Pictorial and the London Evening News. These two Harmsworth brothers, very different in interests and character, were the founders of Britain's most enduring family newspaper dy

It was against this background of gillering success that Vere grew up. He was educated at Eton and, by his own account, did not shine. His only happy time, he later recalled, was the year he spent at Kent School, Connecticut, when he was evacuated in 1940.

He went to Canada in 1948, to work in a paper mill producing newsprint, before joining the family firm in Fleet Street in 1952. The

of editor, fired him, and put his faith in English once again as temporary editor. That paper, in just 16 years, has become the most successful in

relaunch the new paper in a tabloid The dream of a right-of-centre middle-class paper for a mythical Middle England gradually became a reality, with English as the driving force. Rothermere's first ambilion was to overtake the Daily Express. then selling 1.6 million more. It took 15 years to achieve. Now the Mail is 1.2 million ahead.

Once confident of the Mail's suc-Vere finally took control in 1971. cess, Rothermere launched the Mail seven years before his father's on Sunday in 1982. He was immedi-

great days of Northcliffe were long past. In 1940 his father, Esmond, merged the Sketch and the previ-

its field, eclipsing the Sunday Ex-press and overtaking two red-top

ously broadsheet Daily Mail, put English in the chair and decided to Rothermere's private life was just colourful as his commercial one. 1957 he married Patricia Brooks, Rank starlet known to everyone (except Rothermere) as Bubbles, They had two daughters and a son. But by the late seventies, they were leading separate lives. While she stayed in London, he moved to Paris in 1978 with a Japanese-born Kor ean, Maiko Lee, who had previously Rothermere resolutely refused to divorce and did not marry her until a year after Bubbles died of a heart at-

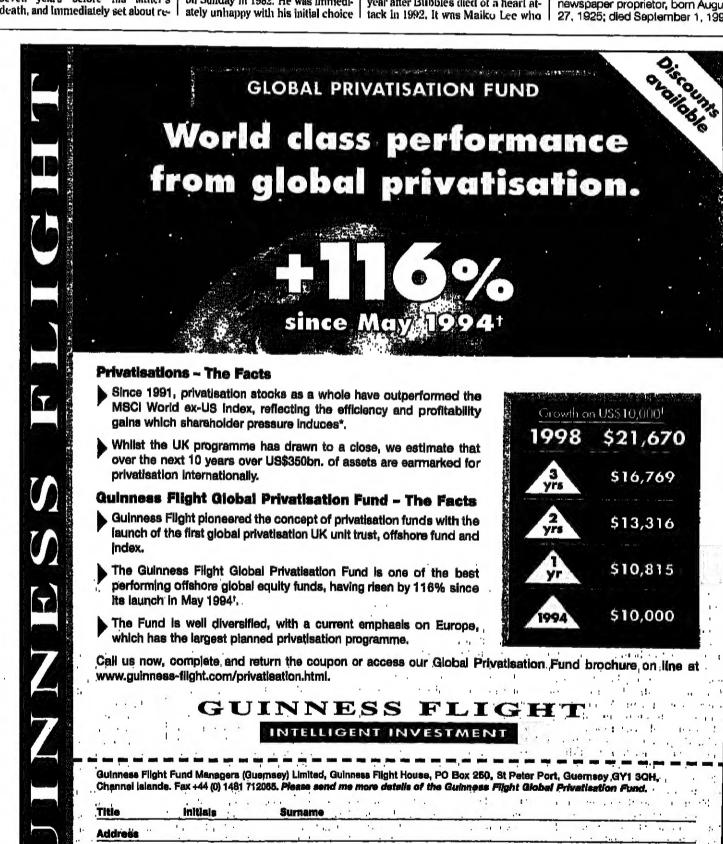
drew him towards Buddhism and belief in reincarnation.

OBITUARY 25

In recent years, Rothermere moved between homes in Paris, the south of France and New York, It is generally believed that his personal riches far surpassed those of all the other newspaper owners, but when asked by an interviewer how often he spent in London, he chided him for behaving like a tax inspector. Despite his many charitable gifts, his recent conversion to New Labour had not made him keener to contribute more of his money to the

Roy Greenslade

Vere Harold Esmond Harmsworth (Viscount Rothermere of Hemsted), newspaper proprietor, born August



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■ N HIS honest, humane and wise

antobiography, inspired by that of Jean Renoir, Akira Kurosawa,

who has died aged 88, described a

Through it I learned not only of the

xtraordinary powers of nature, but

The quake and the subsequent

house was damaged, the fires

dd not reach it. But there was no

detricity, and when the neighbour-

tood's supply of candles was valuated, the darkness was total

and terrible. A rumour spread that

lorean residents of the city were

omehow responsible for the may-

Koreans in downtown Tokyo.

When the holocaust abated, a

wing-willed elder brother took

Mira on a day-long tour of the

moses charred black, half-burned

ுற்று, corpses in gutters, corpses

"ole street at an intersection". In-

imher insisted that he look care-

lly. Back home that night he slept

ealog. He asked his brother how

i could happen. He told Akira: "If

ou shut your eyes to a frightening

ight, you end up being frightened.

you look at everything straight

Though the adult Kurosawa was

haracteristically reticent about

is it is difficult not to see it re-

ated in his more than 30 feature

los about past and present Japan,

thich abound in both baseness and

bility, savagery and sophistica-

on on an epic scale. Films such as

shomon, Ikiru (Living), The

Yen Samurai, Throne Of Blood,

the Hidden Fortress and Dersu

rals are among the most powerful

wifes ever made. Not only was

heir creator Japan's greatest film

irector, he was one of the greatest

the century artists working in any

a, there is nothing to be afraid of."

"Lated and lifeless city. "I saw

hem, and there was a massacre of

A chip off the old block

THEATRE **Michael Billington**

N EDWARD ALBEE premiere is a big event. A new play, as the writer himself says in the programme, offers a challenge to audiences, critics, even the author. But, for all its verbal felicities, The Play About The Baby, at London's Almeida Theatre, resembles not so much a brand-new work as an anthology of familiar themes. This is the portable collection of Albee obsessions in a handy two-hour version.

We are confronted by four characters, simply identified as Boy, Girl, Man, Woman. Boy and Girl are passionate, sensual, newly married. protectively proud of their baby, yet filled with odd intimations of alarm. Enter middle-aged Man and Woman, who are whimsical, cynical, reflective, bound together, yet strangely separate. What do they want of the younger couple? The question is finally answered at the end of the first act when Man says: "We've come to take the baby."

Adam Sweeting meets Marianne Faithfull, wild child of the sixties turned Salzburg festival diva

Wages of sin

NTHE early seventies, after her tenure as the angelic teenage siren of Britpop and Mick Jagger's glamorous rock-chick chattel had evaporated. Marianne Faithfull spent years living on the wall of a demolished building in Soho. She was lonely, confused and addicted to heroin. "I sat there day after day, high as a kite," she reminisced in

her autobiography. This demoralised Marianne could hardly have imagined that nearly 30 years later, she would find herself the toast of the Salzburg festival, mingling with crown princes and Herbert von Karajan's widow. It has been 11 years since she first performed Brecht and Weili's parable of commerce and compromise, The Seven Deadly Sins, but the longer she does it the better it gets. Her recording of the plece, made in Vienna last February, is released by RCA this month. Her live performance of it with the Vienna Radio Symphony Orchestra in Salzburg's Pelsenreitschule last month was a landmark moment in Faithfull's dogged climb back from the brink.

Salzburg performance. There's created his own experiment in commore than a hint of the diva about La Faithfull, and the gleam in her eyes tells you she knows it. Although she nearly ended up on the stag heap of rock 'n' roll, she claims she never pictured herself as selfdestructive. "No, alas, I am a natural-born fucking winner," she of will power. hoots, nursing a glass of wine and lighting a cigarette.

She's intrigued that, despite her epic detour through drugs, homelessness and brushes with death. she has somehow arrived where it

Old Albee hands will recognise | Davies's production and the skill of the emotional pattern of Who's | the actors. Frances de la Tour as Afraid Of Virginia Woolf? An older games-playing couple, themselves prey to illusion, gradually strip away the protective dreams of a younger pair. The key difference is that the earlier play was about the decline of a civilisation; this one is largely about the substitution of fantasy for

But there are also strong echoes f Albee's recent work, Three Tall Women, in which we saw a single character divided into triple parts. Here there are strong hints that the older couple are viewing their naïve, impulsive, younger selves before being subjected to the corrosive batterings of time — even a suggestion that gender is approximate, and that Boy may grow into Woman, Girl into Man. But again one misses the dramatic resonance and clarity of the earlier triple image.

The play is more a treasure trove for Albee scholars and biographers than something of passionate universal concern.

But it lives in performance

Elsinore, sometimes to startlingly Ongoing acts

Ninagawa pushes the argument further to suggest that the whole play is like a Borgesian hall of mirrors. It is no accident that Hamlet emerges for his meditation on suicide from the same gap in the curtains where the Ghost has earlier returned from the grave. As a display of theatrical aesthet-

ics, the production is remarkable. Curtains flutter and blow, plangent music is distantly heard, actors are seen off-duty in disturbing silhouette. But the play's politics are subordinate to its theatricality. Tetsuro Sagawa's Claudius runs what in Pinter is always called "a tight ship" until the very end, when the invading Fortinbras turns out to be a sadistic thug: I don't know what significance this has in Japan but the notion of a quasi-Fascist Fortinbras has now become a directorial stock

Difficult also to judge Hiroyuki Sanada's Hamlet unless you speak Japanese. He's at his most striking n the Closet Scene where he paws Mariko Kaga's excellent Gertrude with Freudian intensity. Even if it doesn't rewrite the history books, thanks to the ingenuity of Howard | double as their dressing-rooms and | on the nature of action and acting. this Hamlet is a haunting meditation

rency, only underlined the disjunc tion at the heart of the testical Boulez conducted one concert with the Ensemble InterContemporar a typical programme of Vares Stravinsky, Schoenberg and light alongside two works of his own and was present in the audience to his masterpiece from the 1960s. If Selon Pli, impressively done by Va dine Anderson and the BBC Soil tish Symphony Orchestra unde Martyn Brabbins. He also attended the premiere of his latest work, Sur Incises, by the EIC under its print pal conductor David Robertson, in a concert that also included Ellio Carter's Clarinet Concerto and the British première of Philippe Manoury's vivid and arresting Fragments Pour Un Portrait.

willing to sign off until he had and his poetry, and Sur Incises is currently in that state too, a concep-tion that has yet to reach its final form. The kernel was a piano piece. Incises, that he wrote for a competition in 1994; two years later, the first, 10-minute version of Sur lacises appeared.

ial from the original — rapid, toccata-like figurations that dance across the keyboard, sombre murmurings in the bass - and realises yet more of their potential.

of the scoring survived.

It is still dominated by the virtil oso passage work of Incises, with ing patterns.

tery of steel drums, the harps spir ning a shimmering web, combining with the drums in an unlikely, other-worldly sonority. The

means I can buy my flat in Dublin, if you wanna know." She's got it so you wanna know." She's got it, so | boundaries, with the act of creation always as an ongoing process.

Cutting of creation edge of

GUARDIAN WEE! September 13 19:

cinema **Andrew Clements**

THERE were just six living con OBITUARY posers represented in three reeks of concerts and operas in E4 inburgh this year, a miserally showing of which the festival organ isers should be thoroughly ashamed

EDINBURGH FESTIVAL

Their short-sighted timidity accentuated by the policy that has shattering experience in Tokyo developed over recent years of ghet, shen he was 13 years old: the tolsing new music into a single Great Kanto earthquake of 1923.

Regular (estivalgoers can be subjected to endless recitals of Wolf, or eurordinary things that lie in second-rate Verdi operas just be luman hearts." cause their libretti are based up a Schiller, but they are not allowed by litereduced two-thirds of the capital hear any new works in the context to ashes and took 140,000 lives. of the standard repertory, it seems | Kurosawa's family, living in a hill for fear of their being tainted by the; staburb of Tokyo, was lucky: though experience. That the focus of the allotted two

days was Pierre Boulez, who as a conductor has done more than anone else to bring the music of the 20th century into common cur-

For many years Pli Selon Pli was one of Boulez's infamous "works in progress", a score that he was unworked out all the implications of its many-layered portrait of Mallarue

The latest expansion lasts 35 minutes. It takes the two kinds of mater

The flat, murky acoustic of the edge of the glinting metallic sound world but the sensuous resonance

marimbas and vibraplione criss crossing the planes in everchant But there are cases of calor beauty too - ruminations for a bat

rhythmic energy is prodigious.

As always with Boulez the sense

ongest of seven children. His as their enemies, the bandits who were attacking the townspeople.

Through a glass darkly . . . Kurosawa in 1980 on the set of Kagemusha After leaving school, Kurosawa dabbled in many arts, read voraciously both Japanese and Western literature, particularly the Russian classics - he later adapted Postoevsky and Gorky — and saw a large number of films under the tutelage of his elder brother, who had established himself as a successful narrator for silent film.

Kurosawa showed real promise as a painter and began selling illustrations to magazines. He also was loosely associated with a revolutionary proletarian movement, though communism did not make much impression on him. It never crossed his mind to become a filmmaker until he happened to notice an advertisement by the young film stu-dio P C L (later Toho) asking for assistant directors. Despite having no university degree and little demonstrable achievement, Kurosawa was selected.

HE years at Toho, from 1936 until he directed his first film Sanshiro Sugata in 1943, were gruelling for Kurosawa, but they gave him experience of almost

every aspect of film-making.

The beginning of the Pacific war and Kurosawa's "desperate battle to become a director coincided. By August 1945, he had managed to complete four features, working in the teeth of military censorship. The most innocuous scene might be rejected as "British-American" while the use of march music by Sousa, the famous US bandleader, would pass unnoticed.

As for the war itself, Kurosawa offered no resistance to Japanese militarism, which shamed him then and afterwards. On August 15, 1945, walking to the studio to hear Emcast, he saw the preparations for mass suicide; shop-owners were staring at the bare blades of their unsheathed swords. On the way back, the very same people were bustling about with cheerful faces.

"I don't know if this represents Japanese adaptability or Japanese imbecility," he wrote in 1981. "In elther case, I have to recognise that both these facets exist in the Japanese personality. Both facets exist within my own personality as well." Rashomon, made in 1950, brought Kurosawa, and indeed Japanese cinema as a whole, to the

attention of a curious world. Shown

at the Venice Film Festival in 1951,

helped to inspire a would-be director later deeply admired by Kurosawa, Satyajit Ray, who called Rashomon "the kind of film that immediately suggests a culmination, a fruition, rather than a beginning. You could not - as a film-making nation — have a Rashomon and nothing to show before it."

The 15 years after Rashomon were Kurosawa's golden period. His finest film of all (and his own favourite). The Seven Samurai (1954), seems to contain the whole of human experience in the relationships that develop between a village and the samurai hired by the villagers to defend themselves from

pillage by ruthless robbers. It is an action picture to end all action pictures, a hymn to movement but it is also profound philosophy. Plot and psychology are here in a perfect balance, never quite achieved by Kurosawa again.

After 1965, Kurosawa's career went into steep decline. His magnificent lead actor, Toshiro Mifune, left him because of his mammoth shooting schedules. The high cost of his film antagonised Japanese produc-ers. And though his audiences in Japan were generally favourable, the Japanese press throughout his career accused him of purveying an exotic Japan to the West. This was both wounding and wilfully blinkered, given the rapid and rather mindless westernisation of Japan after the war, which Kurosawa much disliked.

Eventually, after a widely publicised falling out over a Hollywood mega-project in 1968 and a commercial flop with a Japanese-financed small-budget film, Kurosawa attempted suicide in 1971. His fortunes revived with Russian help and the backing of younger Hollywood directors, Francis Ford Coppola and George Lucas (Kagemusha) and Steven Spielberg (Dreams, in which Martin Scorsese had a small acting role). But, enchanting, gorgeous, cruel and grand as all these films variously are, they

Nevertheless we have the masterpieces, which will never be forgotten. They are how Kurosawa, an extremely private man, wanted to be remembered.

Andrew Robinson

Akira Kurosawa, film director, born and Machiko Kyo | | the film was a sensation and carried | March 23; 1910; clieb September 6, in Rashomon off the Grand Prix. In India, it 1998 to be a control

Crocodile fears

TELEVISION Nancy Banks-Smith

EFF HE kindest and safest way to control a croc," said Steve Irwin, the ebullient presenter of Deadly Crocodiles (ITV), "is to get as many people as you can to sit on it." Television is such a boon, My copy of Survival has several useful tips about seeing off a shark ("scream under water") but only one suggestion for dealing with a crocodile ("Get to the side QUICKLY!"). Both these sugges tions seem to me things one might do naturally and without being prompted in any way.

Steve's method requires as nany mates as you can find prepared to ride a crocodile bareback and, in a situation like this. you soon find out who your mates are.

Being the cheerful and fizzingly enthusiastic chap he is, like an exceptionally large sevenyear-old, Steve had eight mates who, at the word of command, sat on the croe. That's about one mate per two feet of crocodile. ("From here on in, if he starts to react, we're gonna have to ride it out. Just hang on!") Under ussorted bush hats, I spotted Duggie, Ronnie, Barry, Terri, Shelley and Wes. Terri (as in "Run, Terri! Run!") was Steve's young wife.

The croc was a big male. "Holy smoking dog shit!" breathed Steve when he first saw it, parting the green water with the bumps on its back. It dominated a Queensland waterhole which was also popular with fisher-

When a crocodile challenges man, the most optimistic outcome is that it will be caught and moved hundreds of miles to a more remote area. Rather like a transported convict, now you mention it. Unfortunately crocodiles, like Australians, have an exceptional homing instinct and are apt to boomerang back. Steve had a better idea. He

was going to try reforming a crocodile by aversion therapy. First catch your croc. For this you will need a net and a dead pig. They caught him, made him

B

comfortable and left him. At night they came back in a motor boat, roaring round and round, strafing him with the machine-gun rattle of the engine "I want him to associate humans and boars and lights with this night in the trap," said Steve. ne croc lay like a lo

Next morning they let him go. He staggered like an animal coming out of anaesthetic but Steve had not drugged him, tagged him nor fitted him with a radio transmitter. .

Three months later, the crocodile was difficult to locate. When they found him ("It's the big bloke himself!") he did not linger. Whether he had learned to avoid humans is uncertain. It seems much easier to teach numens to avoid a crocodile.

I once asked a snake dancer if her python was house-trained. She said you couldn't housetrain a snake,

This is quite irrelevant but oddly memorable.



the actors. Frances de la Tour as

Woman brilliantly shows the knack

of communicating with the audi-

ence. Alan Howard also brings to

Man the probing gaze of some alle-

gorical Bunyanesque seeker after truth. And Rupert Penry-Jones and

Zoë Waites get across both the inno-

cent physical rapture and the ulti-mate spiritual disillusion of Boy and

Not, by any means, an unreward-

ing play, just one that gives the im-

his own earlier work.

pression that Albee is cannibalising

Yukio Ninagawa's Tokyo version

f Hamlet, at London's Barbican

Theatre, is not as revelatory as his

famous, falling cherry-blossom

Macbeth, but it's still a perfectly

controlled aesthetic event. Clearly

Ninagawa sees Hamlet primarily as

a play about the mystery of theatri-

As we take our seats, the actors

are strolling about sticking on false

beards and examining costumes in

front of mirrors. Eventually they re-

treat to 12 curtained recesses which

Faithfull; I sing my shadow. I'm singing the dark side of myself

ended up exactly where I would have been anyway. Very peculiar At my age, if I'd been a classical singer would have done Mozart and Fidelio and all that, and by now I would have got to Kurt Weill. If it's there in

the cards, it will be there anyway." Her voice is husky and hoarse, but with an unmistakable note of aristocratic haughtiness. Her We met the day after her for British intelligence, and later munity living at Brazier's Park in Oxfordshire. Mr and Mrs Faithfull were disastrously mismatched, but the combination seems to have bred in Marianne a combination of bohemian iconoclast and reckless

drama queen, with a hidden streak It would be difficult to find a candidate better equipped to sing The Seven Deadly Sins. The central character, Anna, is sent from Louisiana by her family on a symbolic tour of America's big cities to was once intended she should, "If I | earn enough money as a dancer to

made As Tears Go By, I was going to be a classical singer, and I have ty, with Anna I the hard-boiled narrator, and Anna 2 the sensitive.

angel with big tits and signed her."

Anita Pallenberg, Angela, at Redlands, Richards's Sussex home were famously arrested in 1967.

irresistibly to mind.

easily manipulated dancer. It's tempting to picture them as the two Marianne Faithfulls, one a battered but mature 51-year-old, the other the young girl who prompted Rolling Stones manager Andrew Oldham to comment: "I saw an

Jagger was among the guesta at her So, I sing my shadow. I' salzburg party after the show. The the dark side of myself."

associations of the sixties. Blanca day before she flew out to Salzburg, daughter of Keith Richards and where Marianne and the Stones

In her autobiography, published in 1994, she made the observation:

hadn't been discovered and I hadn't | build them a huxurious house by the | "but I think it's sort of true. It's pos- | she might as well flaunt it.

PHOTOGRAPH: REDFERNS sible to be a sort of real artist and a caricature at the same time. But I'm more careful. I can't make myself into a huge rollercoaster moneymaking machine. I don't think I would survive. I make a living. I do

all right." In January, she'll release a new rock album. The tone of the songs is mother was Eva Sacher-Masoch, an Austro-Hungarian baroness and a forwards in unforeseen wery powerful character but very ways, part of her will aldark, and in real life he wasn't like father, Glynn, was a wartime agent | ways remain inseparable from the | that. Somebody asks him about

apparently darker than Dracula's crypt. "I watched this documentary that, and he says: 'I act my shadow.' So, I sing my shadow. I'm singing

Also on the horizon is a movie she attended the wedding of the version of her autobiography, with rumours suggesting Uma Thurman or Michelle Pfeiffer for the title role. Faithfull sold the film rights to Jim Sheridan's company, Hell's Kitchen, and intends to stand back and let him get on with it. "I'm not precious about how people portray me, be-"All celebritles become burlesques of themselves in the end." Images of the Stones and David Bowie leap cause they're not actually attacking me, only a projection of me. I think it could be a great film. It also

The true samural spirit always mattered more to Kurosawa than the samural's trappings

chant community, his father from a samural family which halled from a

village in the northern part of Hon-

shu. Kurosawa admired his mother

for her power of endurance and her

'realism", but it was his father, a ro-

His father was "a strict man of

mantic, who really influenced him.

military background" who taught martial arts, helped to build Japan's

first swimming pool and worked to

make baseball popular. He encour-

aged his son's ability in kendo

swordsmanship, and the young Kurosawa, despite being quite weak

as a child, reached the first rank as

him to stage enormously exciting

Fortress, Yolimbo and Rashomon.

But the true samural spirit -

bushido - inculcated by his father

always mattered more to Kurosawa

than the samural's outward trap-

pings. Donald Richie, Kurosawa's leading Western Interpreter, de-

fined it thus: "compassionate stead-

fastness, complete moral honesty,

inability to compromise, and action

When Hollywood borrowed The

Seven Samural to make The Magni-

ficent Seven, and Sergio Leone bor-

rowed Yojimbo to make A Fistful Of

Dollars — thereby launching Clint

Eastwood as the "Man With No

Name" — Kurosawa (though a keen

admirer of John Ford) was not

impressed. Japanese samurai had

been replaced by Wild West gun-

men who were basically gangsters.

Samurai are the total opposite of

gangsters, said a wry Kurosawa.

But these Westerns had turned

through belief".

aling in rivers, corpses piled up | a swordsman: the source of the

bridges, corpses blocking off a inside knowledge that would enable

Augustrily, he looked away, but his duels in films such as The Hidden

Kurosawa was born in Tokyo, the them into men nearly as worthless

inculcated by his father outward ... Toshiro Mifune

The tale of a tub thumper

Jonathan Swift by Victoria Glendinnine Hutchinson 324pp £20

HE English mania for biography rages on. As a nation, we seem less interested in ideas than in the sexual habits of those who had them. The narratives we relish are not fictions, but the reallife stories of fiction-makers. This is an odd preference, since writers' lives are not necessarily more enthralling than those of pharmacists. The events that really matter in a writer's life are acts of writing, and literary biographics, with a few dis-tinguished exceptions, are the last place one would go for incisive analyses of these. Victoria Glendinning's new biography of Swift devotes more space to his Anglo-Irish accent than it does to his satirical masterpiece A Tale Of a Tub.

There is a strange contradiction at work here. Writers can be glamorous, legendary figures, which is what tempts us to peer behind the works to the individual. But since it was the works that made them glamorous and legendary in the first place, this turns out to be a selfdefeating exercise. We wouldn't be interested in whether Samuel Beckett smoked Gauloises if he hadn't written the likes of Endgame, but whether he smoked Gauloises has no relevance to Endgame at all.

Biographers like to imagine that their subjects are unique; but this is belied by the very structure of their books, which move predictably from parentage, birth and education to career, progeny and death, shaped more by the dictates of biology than by the unfurling of some free spirit. The English love a character, just as they love a lord; but what the biographical form betrays is just how much these supposedly nimitable characters have in com-

A lot of biography is a kind of highbrow nosiness; but the form combines the shapeliness of fiction with the flavour of real life, and so exerts a charm. Victoria Glendinning is certainly charmed by Jonathan Swift, a man she sees as representing in some ways "moral true north". Since Swift was a sec-

Tim Radford

The Raptor And The Lamb:

by Christopher McGowan

Penguin Press 272pp £18.99

Predators And Prey In the Living

PREDATORS have to be quick. If they are to survive, so do

their prev. So predators also have to

be smart. That is why lions stalk -

become stealth weapons - and

then judge the shortest possible dis-

tance across which to strike, be-

cause ilon can accelerate to 30 mph

inside a 50-yard distance. With sur-

prise on her side, she — it's usually

she - stands a better chance. The

zebra has learned to be smart, too:

they spot a lion, zebras just carry on

nunching, and don't start getting

twitchy until the distance has nar-

rowed to what a zebra judges to be | feels peckish again.

zebras can run at 40 mph. So even if

The quick and the dead



Swift: a social climber with a strong contempt for other men MARY EVANS

tarian bigot with an extravagant con-tempt for his fellow humans, a man shifts between Whigs and Tories, who clung to the shirt-tails of the powerful in ruthless pursuit of his own self-advancement, one wonders what Glendinning's idea of moral south might be. He was also, of course, one of the finest satirists of world literature; but it might be kinder to remember him as that, ather than as the embittered oppor-

unist behind the prose. Like all biographies of Swift, this one is forced into a lot of rather humdrum detail about 18th century politics. Even so, Glendinning sists that her protagonist escapes such vulgar labels as Whig and Tory, conservative and radical. Like all great English eccentrics, he can't be pigeonholed because he is purely, uniquely himself. Taken se-riously, this tautology would spell the death of all biography; but in Swift's case it is more than usually off-beam. A few enigmatic issues apart — Was he a Jacobite? Was he celibate? - Swift is all too easily pigeonholed. He was a fanatical High Churchman who believed

thick to snap, so having got the

zebra on the ground, the lioness has

to kill by asphyxiation: by clamping

her jaws on the poor brute's wind-

not when cold: the safest place to

keep a cobra is the fridge. Food,

however, is not a big item for rep-

tiles: mammal hunters have to con-

sume maybe 30 times their own

weight each year to stay alive: a

python can go two or three months

metabolic clock: its small intestine

grows 50 per cent in six hours, and

its lungs double in weight within 14

days: thus armed, it can swallow

and digest its own bodyweight, stor-

ing its rare but filling dinner as fat

(there really is a snake oil) until it

preached a fairly unremarkable brand of conservatism. It was out of that benighted, rather brutal philosonly that he conjured some of the most deviously aggressive literature Glendinning's claim that he was

some ways "radical" is quite hollow. He may have written magnificently against militarism, but he was no pacifist. He may have been a doughty champion of Irish liberty. but as this book notes, the liberties In question were largely those of his own supremacist Anglo-Irish caste in Ireland. If Swift ended up as a darling of the plain people of Ireland, he also felt for them the kind of contempt which the high-minded Houyhnhnms of Gulliver's Travels reserve for the disgustingly bestial

Glendianing would like to believe that her nobly disinterested Dean was lured into political partisanship by such Tory grandees as Harley and St John, a claim that overlooks the visceral prejudice he displayed firmly in the suppression of before he ever ran into them. The Catholics and Dissenters, and de- image of this hard-nosed political

gun: its sonar system is surely for

more than just long-distance com-munication, or echolocation. A rock

concert generates 120 decibels, and

a jet engine peaks at 160 dB, which

is serious pain. Sperm whales can

knock his supper out first, and dine

with the details we can measure,

also alert us to how little we really

know. The chameleon creevs along

twigs with the slowness of death,

of its its prime weapons. The other

is its tongue, which stretches up to

about a foot, but can accelerate to

13 mph in 20 thousandths of a sec-

ond to take a fly on the wing. If this

acceleration continued for a whole

second, the tongue tip would

achieve a speed of 1,000 mph.

Books like this, by stunning us

at leisure?

without eating, though when it which is why it has to change colour does, it thinks big. It tunes up its with its surroundings. Stealth is one

dangerous. Zebras are also big, so
they have to be tackled, rugby style,
to be brought down. The neck is too

Sperm whales are slow-cruising
they have to be tackled, rugby style,
to be brought down. The neck is too

Sperm whales are slow-cruising
ders get to turn out imprisoning under control, and when the tackled is too

being jet propelled have many times

silk with twice the tensile strength
goes, the predator goes too.

chancer as a victim, as gullible as his own Gulliver, is especially incongruous. Swift never had a disinterested feeling in his body, and much of his work is all the finer for it.

New lives of well-documented figures can be justified either if they give us fresh facts or an original angle. This book does neither. And its chatty, unsculptured style lacks the felicities that might redeem it. Glendinning tells us that she is not delivering a "chronicle biography" of Swift but a "written portrait", a claim that turns out to be untrue. Much of the book is indeed the kind of blow-by-blow history provided with greater richness by Irvin Ehrenprels's magisterial three-vol-ume blography. As for the portrait, what is striking is just how little probing of Swift's interior life goes on. For all its fascination with the man, Glendinning's treatment is oddly external: the reader emerges with a close knowledge of what Swift did, but hardly any idea of what he believed. The ingrained anti-intellectualism of English biography is much in evidence, and this in the case of an ideologue who helped to draft the monarch's speeches to Parliament

Where the book excels is in the brief cameo, the vividly crafted detail. It is better on wigs than Whigs, pointing out how soggy and smelly they got in the rain. It is knowledgeable about how to worm your way into the 18th century court, and sketches a memorable portrait of Swift stumping the back lanes of Dublin's Liberties, trading witticisms with the poor.

But the narrative never lets up to gives us a psychological overview of this pathological, profoundly disturbed genius. This, ironically, is true of a man who feared and mocked interiority, who seemed as a clergyman to have no spiritual life o speak of, and who admired above and pragmatic. But Swift is also the author whose writing was described by William Thackeray as horrible, shameful, unmanly, blasphemous . . . furious, raging, obscene"; and though this book valuably puts the old chestnut of Swiftlan scatology into perspective - there isn't, as Glendinning sensi-

bly reminds us, all that much of it - it doesn't begin to grapple with the physical perversities of a man who defended moderation with

penicillin and a few thousand other

things are all natural defences

evolved over millions of years by

Meanwhile, in a mere 200,000

years, Homo sapiens has become the

ultimate predator and one quarter or

even half of all species could be on

the way to extinction. But there is a

huge and inexorable lesson running

through this book, which is by a cu-

rator of palaeobiology in Toronto.

The lesson is this: the prey needs its

predator to keep the population

under control, and when the prey

vegetables and fungi.

the acceleration. But the sperm of the same weight of steel, ten whale may have invented the stun times tougher than Keviar? What immortal hand or eye gave the swift the wings of a fighter aircraft, or fitted out the tiger moth with a sonarjamming system that sends a predator bat off target? Life's richness is what is precise, because about life and death. Reptiles are not such cold-blooded killers, at least, water. So did Moby Dick simply by so many ways of second the best example of a "low serological the cold-blooded killers, at least, water. So did Moby Dick simply by so many ways of second the best example of a "low serological the cold-blooded killers, at least, water. So did Moby Dick simply by so many ways of second the best example of a "low serological the cold-blooded killers, at least, water. So did Moby Dick simply by so many ways of second the best example of a "low serological the cold-blooded killers, at least, water. So did Moby Dick simply by so many ways of second the best example of a "low serological the cold-blooded killers, at least, water. So did Moby Dick simply by so many ways of second the best example of a "low serological the cold-blooded killers, at least, water. So did Moby Dick simply by so many ways of second the best example of a "low serological the cold-blooded killers, at least, water. So did Moby Dick simply by so many ways of second the best example of a "low serological the cold-blooded killers, at least, water. So did Moby Dick simply by so many ways of second the cold-blooded killers, at least, water. So did Moby Dick simply by so many ways of second the cold-blooded killers, at least, water. So did Moby Dick simply by so many ways of second the cold-blooded killers, at least, water. So did Moby Dick simply by so many ways of second the cold-blooded killers, at least, water. So did Moby Dick simply by so many ways of second the cold-blooded killers, at least, water. So did Moby Dick simply by so many ways of second the cold-blooded killers, at least, water at least water at least water. Even the prey have prey, usually plants. And plants have their own ways of staying alive - quinine, is so unhappy" morphine, codeine, atropine and

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Desmond Christy

Paperbacks

After Darwin, by Timberiake Wertenbaker (Faber, £6.99)

PLAYWRIGHTS have cause fear a cultural evolution which screenwriters are the deal nant species. Wertenbaker of tributes to the vigour of the these with this drama of ideas in which the captain of the Beagle, Robe Fitzroy, learns to regret taking Charles Darwin on board. Cleven we see both the struggle of Fitzy and Darwin's ideas and the mon consequences of Darwinian idea as the actors assigned these role find themselves in a dog-eat-dal world. There's even a part for a Tamagotchi - a blasphemous cre ation, Captain Fitzroy would have

Mastering Shakespeare, by Richard Gill (Macmillan, £10.99)

when I imagined myself thy unhinged Hamlet of the lower six – was always an enthusiastic.io eating and encouraging teacht Mastering Shakespeare is an wik-timidating (lots of blobs and subheadings) and stimulating inte duction for those who are about "do" the Bard. Those looking for crib should seek elsewhere the who want a book that helps ther enjoy their set play and be po suaded to read others will find wh.

Are You Somebody? The Life and Times of Nuals O'Faciain Sceptre, £6.99)

A BOOK full of anguish, compa sion, and hope for a happy future. The first edition sold mot than 100,000 copies in Ireland an: comes to us with praise heaped on 🍇 by Roddy Doyle, Edna O'Brien as-Colm Toibin. It takes real guts to b as honest as Faulain is about here. and her family; maybe you need !: be even braver to be so cand about Ireland itself. This edition has been extended to include a seletion of the author's journalism.

Britain on the Couch: Treating A Low Serotonin Society, by Oliver James (Arrow £6.99)

WOU have to admire a clinic psychologist who puts an emire nation on the couch — and for sub a modest fee. Your heart — sony your serotonin levels — may sink. as you read James's account of our society, one in which capitalism is taughts us to think of everything a if we were ranking it for a Which report — "death by a thousand com get Jones: "If this book explains "" thing, it explains why Bridget Jobs

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Dying fall to a special relationship

Andrew Stephen

by Peter Preston Viking 279pp £15.99

THIS unusual and entertaining novel begins with an agitated old man on his deathbed in Porsel, gasping out an embittered sadness that his beloved country has changed so much for the worse during his lifetime: "There's nothing of England left but pots in the cunosity shop," he pleads breathlessly to the glib, bored son waiting for him to die. Then we discover why: the son is an upwardly mobile Tory cabinet minister and his father's dying wish is that his own son could and should do something about what he sees as inexorable national

have been propelled into a Britain of

after the collapse of the Blair gov-ernment, apparently, though we can tensity of the father's beliefs versus ernment, apparently, though we can only speculate whether this means 2029, say, or 2039. "Willie Hague" is also but a distant memory, recalled mainly for the famous case of Hague v. the Sun that led to the Protection of Personal Information Act The Foreign Office is in Brussela the euro the only currency known to any Briton under 30; the G7 has become the G10, the UK has long since lost its permanent place on the UN Security Council, and the European Union has expanded into a 33-

nation. German-led bureaucracy. Politically, our cabinet minister friend is a shallow man whose very vacuity leads to repeated promotions which take him ultimately to No 10; personally, he is trapped in a loveless marriage in which he is repeatedly cuckolded by a more clever, opportunistic wife. But the death of his father gives this novel

mindless political expediency and scheming. For the minister, the rationalisation is that a British government repeatedly playing West-minster against Brussels and vice versa has two power bases rather than one and is thus more powerful but his father's death changes him in ways he cannot comprehend.

This is the first novel by Peter Preston, who was editor of the Guardian for two decades. That background gives it two noticeable advantages. First, Preston has a better inside knowledge than most of how cynical and ruthless British politics really is - and how the media is led along, hopelessly riding its waves. He conveys all this with occasionally biling cameos, showing us (for example) how a completely fictitious news story | today, let alone in 2029 or 2039. the BBC's Nine O'Clock News. I liantly captures the prevailing, pa- 1 CultureShop (see page 28)

late Rupert Murdoch, too: now it is run by a camp young man who still dictates to the Times how politics must be covered. Second, the book s carefully structured and often beautifully written - even if there are occasional misprints belitting a work by a former editor of the Grau-

Preston is less sure-footed, though, when it comes to American politics. His US politicians are inariably crude, foul-mouthed, gumchewing sons-of-bitches who spir and curse; they cannot utter a sentence without at least one "ain't," and they rarely speak grammati-cally. Anyone who lives in Georgetown would be surprised to discover that you go "down" the "Pike" to Bethesda rather than up Wisconsin Avenue. And any male politician who addressed an American woman television interviewer as "my dear" would be instantly shredded even

There are some wicked digs at the tronising attitude of the US govern thriving News Corp Inc left by the ment towards its British counter part - one so few Britons see or are willing to accept. "Never kick an ancient retainer in the teeth." is how his US president views relations with Britain; for him, brunch at Chequers with the British prime minister is a chore not unlike "hospital visiting". Too near the bone for the British, possibly?

This is an engrossing, amusing tale, Preston is brave to have made himself vulnerable by producing a novel — even bringing in lesbiar love scenes and suchlike - when he could have rested on his journalistic laurels. What is so striking, though, is how 20 years of editing a national newspaper has given him so laundiced a view of the workings not just of politics, but of the media in which he has played such a prominent role in modern Britain. I he, perhaps, trying to tell us some-

If you would like to order this book comes to be spin-doctored as fact on | But Preston none the less bril- at the special price of £13 contact

Theme-park authenticity

Andrew Marr

England, England by Julian Barnes Cape 270pp £15.99

THAT England has become theme-park nation is a chattering class cliché. It is also at least partly true. There is no English crisis, but there is a problem. In England, everything becomes a tradition, and that includes the conection of tradition. But the quantity of contemporary repackaging is remarkable. It wraps itself around us all, like gaudy, omnipresent plastic knightly tournaments, Robin loud rambles, Battle of Britain days, Shakespeare's Globe. This, of ourse is hardly unique to England but here the pastiche is also political. We have monarchs arriving to pen Parliament in gilded coaches, and bold barons who are not Terryhomas actors but real people who rote in a functioning political chamber. Other countries have theme parks. But as any visitor to London all confirm, England itself can feel

Yet the English passion for dressing up is matched by growing un-ease about nationhood. Julian Barnes has taken this spirit of the ime and further distilled it into one the oddest novels you are likely tomp but it is written in anger. There is a short first section, ex- you imagined England to be, but aged childhood. There is a longer central satire in which a tycoon takes over the lale of Wight and turns it into a giant theme park of inglish history. Then there is a brief fantasy about England in refreat, a place of organic farms and the occasional steam locomotive. The tone alters, disturbingly, from one section to the next. The central part is more cartoon-like, more fom Sharpelsh, than anything Barnes has done before. The colours are primary, the outlines economic collapse. The Scots buy



Julian Barnes: a romp written in anger

move there. So do Manchester United. It declares independence and becomes a world tourist attrac-England, England. It is "everything done, about a girl's dam- more convenient, cleaner, friendlier, and more efficient". It is also | threatens life itself, Barnes argues,

the Julian Barnes Experience?

By the final section, the tone has shifted again. Old England suffers the jokes obvious. For peother counties and the seriousness. But this is both ambiple who like this sort of thing, this Welsh, Shropshire and Hereford-tious and serious—real, if you like. is the sort of thing they like: the shire. Scheming Europeans isolate shie of Wight's buildings are mostly demolished, then it gets a fake par-siament, peasants, fake London fog, had curdled into an exhibition of

A new royal couple, including the improbably-named Queen Denise, the English turn ruralist, and the mood changes again. Barnes's deep theme is the search for authenticity. What is

roal? In it what we think we know o our history, what we think we remember? A Baudrillardian world of | tional thriller. mimicry and theme-park laisity breathless promise on the back of my proof copy: "Huge full colour advertising". Splendid mobiles of the island . . . 18-copy dump-bin and header . . Author tour." Next standard passage. Act passage. Look what's happened to Old England. It stopped believing in things. Oh, it still muiddless along. It did OK. But it lost seriousness." That's the proposition behind this book That a snowdown, we learn via a flashback, be "kdilis time" at an air conditioned milkshake". Don Pepe, the head gangster, keeps matchsticke is silver one island . . . Author tour." Next stopped behind this book That is the proposition behind the propos world, is worth it. It's the search for life itself. I said this was odd. Nothing could be odder than such a car- in traffic. His subordinates pass toonish romp whose real concern is Dive at those dump-bins.

Dis grave, Stonehenge, and so on. | self-pity reminiscent of a meeting of | CultureShop (see page 28)

||| Enveloped in Manila

Andy Beckett The Tesseract

by Alex Garland

Viking 225pp £9.99

THERE are very few verbs at the start of this novel. In a derelict hotel, a man called Sean s waiting to ambush some gangsters; he is in a suburb of modern Manila, growing stickler with the dusk; he is nervous. Entire sentences, even paragraphs, are composed of single words or phrases: "Hest." "And Blood." 'No other guests." The Filipino gangaters take quite a time to arrive. As Sean fiddles with his gun, and stares at the cracks in the ceiling, the relentlessly hyped-up pages begin to jar a littie. Everything is too stylised the bare bulbs, the skittering cockroaches, the mute conclerge downstairs, with his "sweatsoaked cigarette" — as if art-directed for a particularly

minous advertisement. All this is exactly as a sceptic about Alex Garland would expect. His previous, first novel, The Beach, despite its swell of sales and acclaim, had a whiff of the calculated yarn about it. It was about backpackers in Thailand, just when travelling there was fashionable: it borrowed from the great literary boys' tales like Heart Of but it was as unsubtle as a tradi-

AT DIBL ID not seem afraid of clichés either.

Then the book starts to relax and broaden. Don Pepe is stuck the blame ground, hide behind their thick beadrests, whisper and nod out of earshot. Quietly, the opening premise starts to shift around.

Don Pepe is the first to die in the botel shoot-out. Sean scrambles away into its maze of corri-

finds himself unable to run very fast: his adrenaline refuses to come. And then the novel dives off into another plot altogether.

In the next suburb, a rich mother is waiting for her husband to get back from work. He is in the traffic jam too, shouting reassurances down his mobile phone. She is worrying about the distant gunshots. She keeps going back to the fridge for ice cream, For a conjuror of adventures and exotica, Garland picks out this domestic fragility surprisingly well. The rich family's garden is groaning with blossom, just waiting to fall.

Garland is working up a panorama. After the comfortable and the criminal, he does the poor: a pair of street kids, Totoy and Vincente, scamper Into both stories as wide-eyed observers. The detail of this starts to resonate in the best Dickensian manner. Manila becomes more than a travel-book backdrop: a great modern stew of a city.

The only problem is, The Tesseract needs an ending. For the last 30 pages, Garland twists and ties all his plot strands into a single knot of coincidence. His excuse is in the title: a tesseract. he slightly ponderously explains, is the three-dimensional shape you get when a "hypercube" -entity - is unravelled. Likewise, the characters here are all fated to see a different fraction of the world around them. Sean and his pursuers, and the middleclass couple, and the pair of in-quisitive urchins — all of them stumble out under the blossom, baffled, and into the final gun

The climax strains. This is fitting. If the promotion of Alex Garland, with his young stubble and low-lit photos, has been like a rock star's, then The Tesseract is his difficult second album: worked-on, a welcome widening of possibilities, but less coherent and daring then it thinks it is. As one of its more nebulous sentences begins, "Everything weird was the bottom line . . . ". You never learn quite what it all

tional festival at University Col-

lege School was the most ambitious production yet for Adam Racof, the

prolific London organiser friends

call the Don King of chess. Three

separate tournaments, one a gargantuan 15-round affair, gave oppor-

tunities for GM and IM norms or

Fide ratings. Racof plans a similar multi-event festival in Oxford just

before Christmas with the aid of a

mysterious benefactor who has do-

Jonathan Penrose, the record 10-

lime British champion, was a UCS

pupil, while Britain's leading master

of the 1950s, Hugh Alexander, lived

first in the IM tournament where

both he and Essex's Karl Mah, aged

Final scores in the GM event

were Plaskett 11. Kreiman (US) and

Sashikiran (India) 10%, Hillarp-Pers

son (Sweden) 94. Krishnan Sashiki-

ran, aged 17, who made a big

impression at the British champi-

onship, missed his second GM

norm by one point but showed why

Indian fans compare him to the

17, achieved IM norms.

nated a £10,000 prize fund.

Wiggling, wriggling terror

HE swifts and swallows were gone in early August, but the Even with the shortening of days and a colder edge to mornings, the martins seem spellbound by the lazy, harvest days of late summer, refluctant to hagin the long journey south until they have to. The notion of autumn becomes more of a palpa- | has two pairs of enormous staring ble presence. You can see and taste it in the ripening fruit and seeds, and you can hear it in the wild voices. A family of buzzards, sometimes

four or five, launch into the wind. As they hang and wheel in the sky they call out. The young buzzards have not developed the plaintive mewing cry of the adults. Theirs is an insouclant but challenging call, a sharp, blading yell which seems not just addressed to each other but to the whole landscape and its inhabitants. Ravens croak, rooks rasp and at night shuddering hoots of tawny countless stars. The sounds these birds make are deceptively simple compared with the complex vocabulary of songbirds, but they have a power that strikes deep. There's

animals which make them.

Sounds that set the blood racing embody a strangeness of the wild which finds a thrilling place within us. But there are stranger things. As I rummage about in a hedgebank, something dark falls in front of me. It has snake-like markings of black lactice over green and grey, a sharp-tail spike and its great bulbous head eyes. It begins to twitch and thrash from side to side, raising its head from which a long trunk emerges. This is a real surprise, and although it takes me a second or two to realise what this thing really is, I'm amazed by its shock value. The monster is the larva of the large elephant hawk moth, and it had been feeding on willowherb leaves when I

disturbed it. The larva's response is to frighten off would-be predators until becomes the beautiful green and willowherb-pink moth. We tend to think of its defensive shock tactics as merely subterfuge, a strategy to avoid being eaten. Some insects have bright colours to warn that they are poisonous; some mimic other insects which are either poisosomething about the way these calls | nous or have a defensive sting or are received that is not captured by | bite; and some use sophisticated

elephant hawk moth larva's body is

This defensive display of this wiggling grub might seem a bit comic i

you know what it is, but like the sound of birds that echo in the human imagination and so enter our mythologies, it has a significance beyond our rational understanding of the creature itself. The larva's surprise works, if only for a few seconds, as we rifle through what we know about such creatures for an explanation that protects us from it. Even if you do know that the animal is wearing a disgulae, you may be tempted to ask, what nightmare creature does it disguise itself as? What kind of monster lurks within our imaginations that confronts us in the appearance of this thing?

nearby for some years. This time James Plaskett, the former British champion from Hastings, won the GM group with 11/15 while Simon Knott, a City fund manager, was

as rich and ripe as the damsons falling from surrounding trees, and it would make a good meal for a large range of birds, reptiles, mammals and other insects. The secret of its power to shack lies not just in the strange thrashing movements out in the visual display. By flashing the forward-facing eye markings on the bulbous head and the sting-like spike at the rear, the larva becomes a chimera: part manunal, part rep-

Krishnan Sashikiran (India) v Ron Burnett (US)

great Vishy Anand.

1 d4 Nf6 2 c4 e6 3 Nc3 Bb4 4 Bg5 Sashi likes this sharp system. which the great Boris Spassky also avoured in his youth. c5 5 d5 b5 6 dxe6 fxe6 7 cxb5 0-0 8 Nf3 Bh7 9 Rc1 Qb6?!

Black regains his gambit pawn but White's dark-squared bishop becomes powerful. 9 . . . a6 is more testing. 10 Bd2 Bxc3 11 Bxc3 Qxb5 12 e3 Qb6 13 Be2 d5 14 0-0 Ne4 15 Bell The right plan for such positions, preserving the

Ba6 16 b3 Bxe2 17 Qxe2 a5 18 Nd2 Nxd2 19 Bxd2 a4 Black's plan of weakening the b3 | Rb5 4 h7 and the pawn costs Black's pawn then ganging up pieces on it rook.

looks plausible, but misses a tactic point. 20 Bc3 axb3 21 axb3 Ra3? Into the lion's den. Since

There were also decisive minis tures in the Hampstead festival.

> Andrew Whiteley v Richard Palliser

1 d4 Nf6 2 c4 g6 3 Nf3 Bg7 4 g3 0-0 5 Bg2 d6 6 0-0 c6 7 Nc3 Qa5 8 h3 Be6 9 Nd2 Na6 10 d5 Bd7 11 a3 Nc7 12 b4 Qa6 13 Bb2 b5 14 cxb5 Nxb5 15 Nxb5 Qxb5 16 dxc6 Bxc6 17 Bxc6 Qxc6 18 Nb3 Qd7 19 kg2 a5! 20 Nxa57 Rxa5 21 Bxf6 Qb7-22 Kg1 Rd5 23 Resigns.

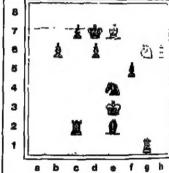
No 2540



Hampstead IM 1998, Black (to move) is three pawns up, but the hi pawn is hard to stop. Slowly and carefully. Black withdrew his bishe to h5. Vegh looked suspicious round the board, shrugged his shoulders, then pushed 2 h7. What happened next?

Qxb37 would run into 22 Qg4, he should retreat 21 . . . Qd7,

22 Bxg7! Rf7 Of course if Kxg?? and Thipsay could aim high in the chess Olympiad.



No 2539: 1 h5l Rg1 2 Kg2 g43h6

Rugby Union Allied Dunbar Premiership One: Richmond 41 Newcastle 29

Richmond sweep champions aside

ICHMOND, vibrant and ver-Be5 Nd7 25 Qg4+ Kf8 26 Bd6+ face of English rugby with a Resigns. Impressive play; an Indian Foller-coaster performance that team of Anand, Sashikiran, Bana supplementations and undefined their own Premiership ambitions. Six alickly worked tries, two of them by the flanker Robbie Hutten, exposed embarrassing gaps in the Newcastle defence which may shortly force owner Sir John Hall to each for his chequebook. It was the best possible pipe-

opener for Richmond at their new home, the Madejski Stadium on the outskirts of Reading, which was filed with a crowd big enough 15,530) to suggest their bold deciion to move there will be a success. If Richmond, who bought drewdly in the close season, can maintain the remarkable level of 4ill and control they achieved gainst Rob Andrew's muscular we, they should have no problem pulling in five-figure support once

heir community projects get into

full swing. Kichmond's biggest assets are thir international players, Ben tarke, Spencer Brown, Allan Bateman and the Argentine scrum-half Agustin Pichot, all of whom revelled Newcastle's discomfort, roared is by their delighted supporters. using out the Tynesiders' weakins at scrum and line-out, Clarke's portunistic side wasted no opporsity to exploit their opponents' iging drive to the line.

One or two key players have left Fracastle and they have a lot of the men in their side," said John ingston. Richmond's director of nighy. "Newcastle played the way i thought they'd play — we could have scored 50 points. They will

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

have to rebuild and develop young players like Johnny Wilkinson to get for his side's defeat, their second at the hands of Richmond this year.

experienced Premiership rugby for

the first time but we still finished

fifth. This time they'll know what to

expect - the building blocks are in

place and we'll aim to ask questions

DAVID LLOYD, the England cricket coach, was severely reprimended by the England and

Wales Cricket Board for his disparaging assessment of the Sri Lanka off-spinner Muthiah Mura-litharan. Lloyd implied during the

Oval Test that he still viewe

Muralitharan as "a chucker", ever

though his bowling action had been

passed as legitimate.

of the opposition.

in fact, Wilkinson, one of the youngsters on whom Clive Woodward has pegged England's future, had such an ineffectual game that he was substituted near the end. In theory he was playing at flyhalf white Andrew wore the No 12 shirt; in practice frequent switching of positions between the two created midfield confusion which Richmond were happy to exploit. To make matters worse, Wilkinson's goal-kicking was so wayward that eventually

Andrew took over the job. Newcastle's captain Dean Ryan shrugged off the departure of Pat Lam, Alan Tait and Tim Stimpson, denying the club had been lethargic in seeking replacements.

"The rules have changed and you just have to adjust," he said. "You cannot keep the ball now for long stormed over from five-metre periods — you have to move it away

from the tackle. Our scrum creaked and Richmond caused us a lot of adustrious Hutton twice touched Kingston, whose job was thought down from a drive-maul when Craig to be on the line last spring, pointed Quinnell won line-outs in the right out that Richmond, a third division corner. Brown completed the agony side three years ago, had probably for the visitors with a superb solo made quicker progress than any of their rivals. "Last season our players

all quarters but they were especially lethal at short range, scoring four tries from set-pieces close to the line. First Clarke, then Pichot scrums in the right corner. Then, after Bateman had races home to score from long range, the

Trailing 41-15, Newcastle ultimately saved their blushes with well worked scores near the end, courtesy of Inga Tuigamala and Doddie Weir. However no one, least of all Sir John, will have been fooled by

AUSTRALIA'S Michael Doohan won his fifth 500cc San Marino Grand Prix at Imola - his successive victory on the circuit. The reigning world champion domi-nated the race and finished ahead of Alex Criville of Spain. Max Biaggi of Italy disappointed his home crowd by coming third. The result throws the championship wide open — Doohan is now only four points be-hind Biaggi, with Criville third.

TIM HENMAN is Britain's No THE South African Rugby Foottennis star. It was the perfect ball Union elected its first black 24th birthday gift for the player who resident, Silas Nkanunu, a human achieved it by reaching the last 16 at ights lawyer and the union's former the US Open in Flushing Meadow - for the second time in three vice-president. Mr Nkanunu was the years. Greg Rusedski, 25 last Sunonly nominee for the post vacated day, slumped to a third-round defeat

> ARK "Big Mac" McGwire V booked his place in American baseball's hall of fame when he equalled the current record of 61 ome runs in a season, set by Roger Maris in 1961. With 19 games remaining the St Louis Cardinals star, who has now gone one better than the legendary Babe Ruth, has plenty of time to set a new mark.

ACKIE BLANCHFLOWER, one of the survivors of the 1958 Munich air crash which killed eight Manchester United players on their way back from a European Cup match against Red Star Belgrade, has died of cancer. He was 65.

Cricket NatWest Trophy

Derbyshire fail to stem **Red Rose**

Mike Selvey

HERE is a rumour that NatWest would like a change o the current format of their final, which would involve two sides playing a game of cricket to decide who tosses a coin.

Once again, the September final, which is supposed to be a showpiece occasion, was reduced to a game of such onesidedness that a watchdog body

 Ofterik — might be needed to investigate unjustifiable use of the word "match". This was little more than a charitable donation to Lancashire bank accounts, and Derbyshire players should claim tax relief.

By 1pm last Sunday the Red Rose had secured a game that "because of inclement weather" did not even start until half past four on Saturday and finished for the day shortly after seven. In all, a total of 67 overs were bowled which makes it almost 20 overs shorter than the previous shortest final, which took place last year — itself five deliveries shorter than the year before that.

Lancashire's nine wicket success matched that of Essex last year, and was the seventh time or the Gillette Cup. On Monday they beat Hampshire by 16 runs to win the AXA League, Lying in third place in the county champlonship only eight points adrift of Leicestershire, they could yet turn a good season into the most astounding one in their history.

Although the start was delayed

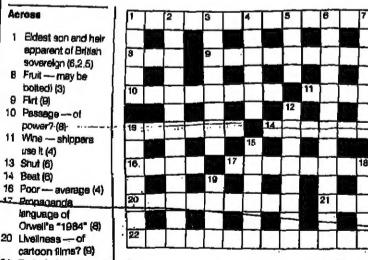
the clanumy atmosphere and low cloud meant that the toss would be crucial, but few could have anticipated to what extent. Derbyshire, who needed all the belp they could get if they were going to compete, got none, ex-cept for some wild Lancastrian bowling in the opening overs after Wasim Akram predictably had sent them in to bat.

Instead, an improbable opening stand of 70 between Kim Barnett and Michael Slater was followed by a collapse of historic proportions that saw seven wickets fall for 11 runs against some superb swing and seam from Ian Austin and Peter Martin. In all, 10 wickets fell for 38 runs. The total of 108 is the lowest first innings in the final of this competition or its predecessor, and the second lowest for either innings A target of 109 was never sufficient even to apply a modicum of real pressure on a side as streetwise as Lancashire.

Cork got some satisfaction by prooting Michael Atherton's offstump with a dream delivery. but it merely served to bring Neil Fairbrother — making a record 10th appearance in a Lord's final - in to join John Crawley. Their unbroken second wicket stand of 81, from 20 overs, saw Lancashire home with virtually half their scheduled overs in hand.

The man of the match award went to Austin for his 3-14, rather than Martin who swung the ball alarmingly to take 4-19.

Quick crossword no. 435



erosion (4)

Mohlingele

6 Florence

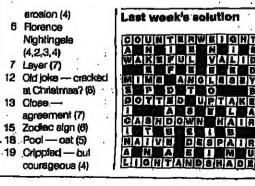
(4.2.3.4)

7 Layer (7)

13 Close.-

21 Part of play -passed by Perliament (3) 22 Trouble es consequence of an action (3,5,2,3)

Down 1 Alarm (5) 2 Questioning (13) 3 Overturned (8) 4 Prayer (6), ..., 5 Sunderland river



Bridge Zia Mahmood

Whatever it is, it's out there.

A THE English Bridge Union's summer meeting in Brighton, two British teams played an exhibition match against the Australian national team and the Chinese ladies, who had won the silver medal in the World Championships last year. The most entertaining deal of the event was reserved for on these North cards:

Your left-hand opponent opens with a preemptive three diamonds the opponents are vulnerable, you are not). Your partner overcalls 3NT, which is natural but can have a very wide range — anything from an optimistic 16-count to a fullblooded 20 or more. Right-hand opponent bids four clubs, also natural. What call do you make?

With little room to explore, Tony was forced into a gamble. Since 4NT would be natural, he could no check for aces if he was going to bid a slam. Mindful that after the vulnerable opponents' preemptive tactics, there was a strong probability that a spade contract would run into some defensive ruffs; Tony put his money | way to reach his partner's ace of dia- | contact CultureShop (see page 28)

on a jump to 6NT. How did he do? Well, his partner Paul Hackett

4863 ♥AKQJ97 ♦KQ5 ♣Q

Not everybody's idea of a 3NT overcall, but the bid has a lot of practical merit. There were plenty of the opponents were in possession of two aces, so it looked as though Tony had lost his bet. But he hadn't,

▲ AKJ10972 62 East ¥1065 ¥32 ♦ AJ 1098743 None **♣**AJ987632 **♣** 54. **4863** ♥AKQJ97 ♦ KQ5

Against 6NT by South West could

monds, and Paul Hackett claimed tricks in short order. Minus 99 looked a revolting result for East-West, but there was better news from the other table:

North

When the Hackett twins held the North-South cards, they misunderstanding. Jason Hackell interpreted his brother's bid of four clubs as denoting some diamen support, so he bid five diamond over four spades hoping to make it. He didn't — he went four down doubled, so East-West at this table picked up 110 and 3 IMPsl

A word of advice. Should yo ever be in the position of having to tell Tony Forrester that he has jus lost points for bidding and making 6NT missing two aces, it's wise it do it by telegram.

If you would like to order Zia Mahmood's book Bridge For Beginners: A Complete Course cash the ace of clubs, but he had no at the special price of £12,

European super league plan is kicked into touch

ONTROVERSIAL plans by mer England international into re UMedia Partners, an Italian company, to form a breakaway super rague of Europe's leading football dubs have been turned down by top antish clubs. All 20 Premiership clubs rejected the proposals unanimously and agreed to seek change to European competitions through

The collective rejection came ther a meeting between the club thicks and Gerhard Algner, Uefa's hem that changes would be made he three European competitions order to guarantee participating lubs more money.

OTTENHAM HOTSPUR have parted company with their Swiss blaced Gerry Francis last Novemher to revive the club's flagging fortunes but Spurs only just avoided elegation last season, and have had Morstart this term.

VERPOOL footballer Mark Wright admitted defeat in his Searlong battle to overcome a seriback condition, forcing the for Thorpe and Tudor.

tirement at 34. Wright made 601 senior appearances for his four orofessional clubs — Oxford United, Southampton, Derby County and Liverpool - and won 45 senior international caps. He likely to move into coaching.

SSEX off-spinner Peter Such is the surprise choice in England's 17-strong squad for the Ashes tour the last of his eight Tests against New Zealand at Old Trafford four years ago. John Crawley has won the vote for the seventh batting spot ahead of Graeme Hick. Also in the party are his Lancashire team-mates Michael Atherton and Warren Hegg, the latter previous uncapped at Test level.

Kent seamer Dean Headley, dropped after the Lord's defeat against South Africa, has also been recalled. Surrey young guns, Ben Hollioake and Alex Tudor, have been handed places, too. The 17 are: Stewart, Hussain, Atherton, Butcher, Cork, Crawley, Croft, Fraser, Gough, Headley, Hegg, Hol-lioake, Mulially, Ramprakash, Such,





